NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCCLXVII.

OCTOBER, 1895.

THE ATLANTA EXPOSITION.

BY THE HON. W. Y. ATKINSON, GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA.

EACH age has had its distinguishing characteristic by which it has been designated in history, and the latter half of the nineteenth century might aptly be termed the era of expositions. Beginning with the great Crystal Palace of London in 1851, which was the first international exhibition, it will close an exact period of fifty years with the proposed Paris Exposition of 1900, having included besides during that period a dozen magnificent industrial exhibitions at such prominent points as Paris, London, Vienna, Philadelphia and Chicago. While the exposition is but the natural successor of the market fairs of the middle ages—of which an interesting example survives in the great fair that draws for several weeks of every year hundreds of thousands of visitors of every race to Nijni-Novgorod—and the legitimate outgrowth of the state and county fairs of America and other countries, yet it has so far surpassed these latter in interest and importance as nearly to crowd them out of existence with its dwarfing proportions. The exposition has thus become a most important feature of our latest civilization, and one whose vast results can only be cursorily touched upon within the limits of this article.

The first pretentious exhibition of the resources and products

Copyright, 1895, by LLOYD BRYCE. All rights reserved.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the Southern States, which had scarcely recovered sufficiently from the devastation of war and the troubles of the reconstruction period to be represented at the Centennial Exhibition of 1876, was held in Atlanta in the fall of 1881, and was successful not only in attracting immigration and capital towards Georgia, but also in encouraging our own citizens by an imposing demonstration of the progress they had made. So great was its influence upon our industrial advancement that the very grounds and buildings in which the exposition was held were turned into cotton mills. This was followed by the Louisville Exposition in 1883, at which there was a fine display of Southern products; and in 1884-85 New Orleans made a still greater exhibit at the World's Industrial and Cotton Centenary Exposition. Now, while the wonders of the Chicago World's Fair are still fresh in the minds of all, while the effects of a great panic, in the very throes of which the project was born, are still being felt all over the country, Atlanta is holding her second exposition, which not only surpasses all former exhibits of Southern products but in many respects even transcends the attractions of the "White City." If this appear an exaggeration, let it be remembered that each of the expositions mentioned had the mistakes as well as the successes of all previous ones to profit by. The exhibit made by the United States government, for example, with all the material of the World's Fair to start with and an additional appropriation of $200,000 to draw upon, is much more complete in every department than upon any previous occasion. In other ways it is claimed, and I believe without undue assumption, that this fair is superior to that of Chicago, quality and not quantity being considered.

The appropriation of $200,000 for its own display is all the aid that has been asked for or received from the Federal Government by the inaugurators of an enterprise that is estimated to cost $2,000,000 from the time it was begun to the time the gates close on the last day of this year, and may easily cost more. The people of Georgia may be misled by their pride in the pluck and enterprise of their capital city, but they do not believe that there is anywhere another city of less than 100,000 inhabitants that would undertake, unaided, an enterprise of such magnitude. There were good reasons why the "Cotton States and International Exposition" should be held at this time. Impoverished by war and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

exasperated by the limitless prodigality of reconstruction governments, when the citizens of the Southern States finally regained control of their own affairs they inevitably went to the other extreme and framed their new constitutions with such careful niggardliness that no appropriations could be made by any legislature, however liberal in its views, except for the absolute necessities of administering the government. According to the strict construction of the province of a republican government, this may in reality be a proper public policy; but in comparison with the broad-gauge modern administration of affairs in sister States, it often places the Southern States in the embarrassing position of poor relations. At any rate, it prevented them from making a proper representation at the Columbian Exposition. After it was too late, after they had seen and realized the magnitude of that great World's Fair, and the benefits which might result from it, the citizens of Georgia regretted that they had not done by private subscription, even at some individual sacrifice, what the State was forbidden to do. So the leading people of Atlanta took hold of the matter and resolved to show the world that it was to no poverty of resources, largely undeveloped though some of these might be, that the failure to exhibit at Chicago was due. The people of the other Cotton States took the same view, and the result is that the world is being edified and delighted with such an exhibit of Southern industries, products, resources and achievements as was never seen at any exposition before, and as few of the citizens of this section ever dreamed to be practicable.

Foreign nations likewise have been impressed by the character of this exposition and have prepared exhibits creditable in every way to the occasion. Thus the world not only has a chance to see what the South is and get a glimpse of its present glorious possibilities and future greatness, but the Southern exhibitor or visitor may compare his achievements with those of others and be the gainer thereby. Especially have the Spanish-American nations manifested a deep interest from the beginning of the enterprise and aided in every way in their power one of the chief ends for which it was inaugurated—the promotion of closer relations with the other countries of this continent whose trade would seem naturally to belong to us. South America furnishes close at hand a vast market for the very grade of cotton goods that the South is now manufacturing in greatest abundance, and one

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which has been but little developed by our manufacturers. Jeans and cottonades are the general and typical dress of the South American, along with the different grades of white cotton goods, and there is no reason why England's present supremacy in this trade should not be contested and overcome. These nations are also large consumers of agricultural implements, which the South has every facility for manufacturing—cheap timber, iron, labor and coal, which are fast being taken advantage of in this and all other lines of manufacture and development. The wonderful natural products of our sister republics are in turn spread before our eyes to tempt the desires of the shrewd trader into which the Southerner has developed since he has been taught the folly of being simply a cotton producer for the rest of the world.

He would be no true American who should not go to the utmost limit in his conceptions of the future achievements, not only of his own country, but of modern inventive genius, and the Titanic force of capital. More than anywhere else the true spirit of Americanism exists in full force in the South, and hence we are ready and expecting the ultimate, and in all probability speedy, completion of the Nicaragua Canal; and we believe that with the return of enterprise and investment, so long dormant that they must soon awaken, no adequate field can be found for their energies except in the building of an inter-continental railway along the line of the Andes and their northern continuations. The one would give the whole United States easy access and cheap transportation to the vast trade of the Orient, now so far away except to the few Pacific States; the other would insure rapid communication with our sister continent that could not fail to bind us in the closest commercial union. By the success of either or both of these schemes the Southern States would be the quickest and greatest beneficiaries, by virtue of their geographical position. Hence the desirability of better acquaintance and closer communion with the nations of the South and the East has been held constantly and successfully in view by the promoters of the Cotton States and International Exposition.

But the chief benefit of the present exposition, as it was of the exposition held in the same city fourteen years ago, is the better understanding which it is expected to promote between the Northern and the Southern sections of this great nation of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

our own. The Chicago Fair demonstrated that even the greatest exposition ever held in the world was not great enough to attract to this new country any large number of foreigners, the majority of whom seemed to hold that their older civilization and development leave nothing further to be expected or even desired. So those who will make or unmake the success of this exposition, so far as attendance goes, must be the citizens of the United States; and there are many things here to interest the best-informed as well as the most inquiring Northern and Western visitors, not to speak of the genuine Southerner, whose attendance in large numbers is already assured.

The South still remains largely an unknown land to the average Northerner, and its topography, flora and fauna, habits and customs, are almost as unfamiliar to him as to the untravelled inhabitant of another continent. Shut off from any close communication with each other for the first two-thirds of the century by the vital difference in their labor systems, the Northerner first became acquainted with the real aspect of the South as a member of an invading army. That what he saw, even through hostile eyes, was not altogether unpleasing, is evidenced by the number of Sherman's soldiers who afterward settled in Georgia; and while the larger proportion of Union soldiers did not get so far into the South, the number of veterans who have since settled in this section further sustains the good opinion we ourselves hold, that to know our section better is to love it more. The returning soldiers, then, introduced a little leaven that is still felt; but after the war the country was rapidly filled up by a flood of immigration that for over two decades poured in from Europe almost without cessation, and filled up the vacant places of the North, East, and West. Partly in accordance with a great natural law, and partly owing to the circumstances that the controlling influences were all in the victorious section, and New York was the only great port of entry, this tide of immigration flowed only on lines of latitude, and almost none of it seeped into the South. All the great railroads were built at that time to develop the West and fill up its unoccupied lands. Only one straight north and south line, the Cincinnati Southern, was built to connect what was then the metropolis of the West with the gateway of the South; and the purpose of this was not to bring immigation and capital into the South, but to divert Southern trade away from New York to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cincinnati. All these potential factors have operated to keep the North and South apart, not to rake up political reasons that have so recently been buried that they are better left undisturbed. In view of the labor and socialist disturbances that an element of foreign immigrants has made more violent, as well as the congested condition of society and trade in the older Northern and Western States, it is easy to believe that the South, quietly working out its own destiny, has not really suffered by this apparently unequal distribution of fortune's favors. At any rate, it has left intact an American civilization of the highest order and the purest character, with many broad acres of land, which the experience of the North has taught us to offer only to a select and desirable class of immigrants, that we may escape the very mistakes that we did not have an opportunity to participate in at the time they were committed.

All this is said in no disparagement of the many citizens of foreign birth who have enriched the history of our country, added lustre to its annals both in war and peace, and to-day constitute a portion of our best and most useful citizenship. It refers only to that indiscriminate desire for mere numbers in population which has inundated some States with the ignorant and degraded, whose coming could not be checked after the dangers which followed the coming of such classes became apparent. We do not believe that in this broad land and under our enlightened government there should be any discrimination against a foreigner simply because he is a foreigner—it has not been so very long since our ancestors were all foreigners—but we do believe that the time has come when the privilege of American citizenship should be more highly valued and more securely guarded.

As to the development that has kept pace with the world in manufacturing and other lines, and the resources that could be catalogued only by exhausting the lists of mineralogy, forestry, agriculture, and pomology, these must be left for the visitor to see for himself as he passes through the thirteen large main buildings in which the exhibits of the Cotton States Exposition are barely contained.

Of equal if not greater importance to the prospective settler or investor than the character of the soil and climate, is the character of the society in his new environments. He who has travelled much over this country must long ago have been struck by the fact that the generality of the people

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are about the same everywhere. In the so-called wickedest localities, he may be astonished to find much that is good, even if in a crude state; while model communities, much as they lament it, will continue to be sorely afflicted by some sinners. To the true American there is no North, no South, no East and no West—he adapts himself to circumstances and becomes a natural part of his environments. The Southerner, as we have said, is essentially an American; and anyone who has not had a chance to see him on his native heath may know him by studying the essential characteristics, but not the local idiosyncracies, of his American neighbor. The haughty slave owner need no longer exist even in the Northern imagination, for the very good reason that there are no longer slaves; and most of the people now controlling the affairs of the South never knew what it was to own a slave, though their parents may have had many of them. To-day all men here meet on the common plane of worth; if that plane still remains a high one, so much the better for us and for worthy people who would cast their fortunes with us.

The condition of society in the South has been persistently misrepresented by a large class of Northern periodicals and writers. For a long time this was attributed to the malice of ignorance and that prejudice which was natural for awhile between the two estranged sections, as well as to political effect; but now it is more shrewdly surmised to have its origin in baser if not less wicked motives. The object seems to be to maintain at any cost the commercial and manufacturing supremacy of the North and East by keeping capital and immigration from seizing the many superior natural advantages of the South. It must be for this reason that in certain Northern journals every crime that is committed in the South, whether great or trivial, is enlarged upon and invested with a sectional significance. It is useless to appeal to the sense of fairness where the facts cannot all be fully presented, or to make comparisons that might be so odious as to close the ears of the hearer; but it is worth the while of the resident of any other section, who loves his whole common country, to come down and see for himself that the South is neither the home of crime nor the abode of lawlessness, and that the people whom he will meet from every State in the cotton belt are as quiet and peaceful citizens as himself.

Especially has the attitude of the South toward the negro been

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

misrepresented by the Northern press and misunderstood by its readers; and this is the more grievous and seems the more unreasonable because the one thing which has clearly proved the crowning glory of Southern manhood has been the way in which the former owner has conducted himself toward the man who was his slave but the day before. Returning from a war waged not on behalf of the slave, but on account of him, the whilom master, and the freedman, each put his hand to the plough and worked side by side in the furrows. And ever since the negro has had his opportunity in every calling in life alongside of the white man—and if the latter did not every time provide equally for the children of both it was because sometimes his poor means failed, and the white man always rejoiced when outside philanthropists supplemented his efforts. The Georgia common school fund is divided in fair proportions between the whites and the blacks; there is a white school of technology at Atlanta and a colored school of technology at Savannah, and so in the other States; there are colored farmers and landed proprietors, colored carpenters, colored lawyers, doctors and members of the legislature in all the Southern States. And in nothing will the Cotton States Exposition be found more instructive than in the marvellous progress shown in every line by this emancipated people in their own building, designed by their own architect and contributed to and controlled solely by their own race. The movement was inaugurated by their leaders, and their plans were heartily encouraged by the Exposition management. It was an opportunity they sought at the World's Fair, but sought in vain, just as they have vainly sought other privileges elsewhere that are freely granted them in the land where they were manumitted. Does this bear out the tales of oppression so frequently told on the Northern stump and rostrum during thirty years past? No oppressed race ever made such advance from abjectness and barbarism to such a high state of progress in the arts and inventions as will be evidenced in the ample space of the negro building at this fair. Nor does any emancipated white serf or peasant in the white countries of the world have the same protection for life, liberty and property, nor the same opportunities for the pursuit of happiness, as are afforded the negro in the States where he was once a slave.

Half the value of this lesson is lost if the thoughtful observer does not realize and reflect that with all this the negro is

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not an integral part of Southern life and civilization. He was brought here and detained as an alien element, and we fully realize that this makes our duty towards him the more exacting. God never tried to make him the equal of the white man, and the Southern Anglo-Saxon has too much reverence to attempt such an improvement upon the Creator's handiwork. It has been demonstrated to be impossible to put "black heels on white necks"; there has never been any desire on the part of the inevitably dominant race to trample upon the natural or legal rights of the black. But the problem which the nation, unable to solve, helplessly turned over to us, we claim to have in fair process of solution, and we confidently urge all mankind to visit us and witness both the problem and the process.

These are some of the many things which make the Cotton States and International Exposition worth visiting even by those who have reveled in all the marvels of past expositions. The exposition is the epitome of the world's progress and civilization, and each new one marks an advance and sets new lessons to be learned, so that it is not safe to rely upon those already seen. The world moves with such rapidity that even in these days of fast locomotion he who should go around it and immediately set out again on the same journey would find new things to observe all along his route. But it is no longer necessary to travel further than to the exposition to see the world's marvels. The wanderings of Ulysses become useless when all states and their ways can be found on one spot, and the aphorism of Epictetus that this world is one city is transformed into a literal fact. What travel once did for a few, therefore, the exposition now does for all; it not only gives a sight of the strange and marvellous, the useful and beautiful of other nations, but an insight into the character of the peoples and the causes, as well as the effects, of their differing civilizations; it sweeps away prejudices, broadens the judgment, teaches that in all his diverse surroundings man remains practically the same, and impresses upon both the mental and the moral sense his universal brotherhood.

W. Y. Atkinson.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

POLITICS AND THE INSANE.

BY DR. HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS.

Two or three centuries ago it was customary to deal with the insane in a way that to us seems simply barbarous. The unfortunate victims of mental disease were then thrust into dungeons, and often chained there. They were scourged at times with whips and clubs, and not infrequently they were burned or otherwise executed for witchcraft.

It is an easy inference from these facts that our ancestors of those days were a very inhuman and barbaric lot. But the validity of this inference is very much weakened by the further fact that the barbarous treatment of the insane just noted was still everywhere in vogue—barring the pyre—a single century ago, and continued to be practised but little modified, in many places, far into the present century, at a period, that is to say, when our own grandparents, and even our parents were on the scene of action. Now we know that these immediate progenitors of ours were not barbarians, and this knowledge may serve to vastly temper our judgment of our remoter ancestors. But why did either the one or the other permit atrocities to be practised which we now shudder to recall?

The answer is very simple. Our ancestors remote and less remote did not know that in treating the insane like dangerous beasts they were acting inhumanly. Enslaved to custom—as we all are—they dealt with the insane as custom dictated. They thought the scourge a righteous instrument for casting out devils; and it was not bad but misguided hearts that gave the pyre approval. In other words, it was ignorance, not viciousness, that swung the lash and plied the faggot to the destruction of the pitiable victims of mental disease. No doubt indifference and selfishness contributed a full share toward keeping the people in ignorance,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but be that as it may, ignorance itself was the cardinal sin that led to the abuses which now seem so unaccountable;—ignorance as to what insanity really is, ignorance as to the real duties that sane humanity owes to its alien unfortunates.

We of to-day do not scourge the insane or chain them in dungeons. About a century ago three or four wise physicians—Pinel in France, Tuke in Scotland, Rush in America—taught the people that insanity is not a curse but a disease, and when this new idea had had time to make its way against the prevailing misconception—when ignorance was in some measure banished—a new era dawned for the insane. To-day kindness, gentleness, tolerance, pity are the mottoes of those who deal directly with the unfortunate, once called a madman or lunatic, but now more charitably spoken of as an insane patient; and the people, no longer ignorant as to this particular matter, are stirred to indignation at the mere suggestion that this spirit has been violated in any given instance. All of which, according to my contention, does not prove that we are infinitely better than our grandparents, who quite approved the things we now abhor; but does show that we are grown in some ways vastly wiser.

But unfortunately our wisdom is not yet all-inclusive, and in dealing with the insane to-day we are making some mistakes that, I suspect, will seem as anomalous to our descendants as the mistakes of our ancestors seem to us. With one of these mistakes we shall have to do in the present paper. I refer to the custom, widely prevalent, though fortunately not universal, of allowing partisan politics to become influential in the conduct of the asylums in which the dependent insane are cared for. The baleful effects of this custom are as yet fully understood only by those persons who have had opportunity to view the subject as it were from the inside. The public at large is still in ignorance of the real bearings of the matter: hence the continuance of the evil. Ignorance—fostered by indifference and selfishness—is still, as of old, the explanation of the abuses which society tolerates. In the hope of in some degree dispelling this ignorance, the present paper is written.

Let me show by some illustrative examples, the ways in which politics has encroached upon a domain that of all others should be free from its infringements.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The simplest and most readily demonstrable manner in which this encroachment may be made, is by the direct application of the spoils system to asylum appointments. This has been done again and again in various of our States. Perhaps the most recent, and certainly one of the most glaring illustrations is furnished by Kansas. When Populism triumphed at the polls in that State, a mad stampede for the spoils began, and the asylum for the insane at Topeka was among the institutions on which the spoilsmen fixed their greedy eyes. With a woman at their head, more's the pity, they descended joyously on this asylum, and as it were sacked it without quarter. Faithful, earnest, competent officials and employees of the asylum who had given their lives to the service, were ignominiously discharged, without pretense of their being unworthy, simply because their places were wanted to reward the politically faithful. Candor was the only merit of the action. No charges were trumped up, no attempt was made to conceal the real animus of the removals. It was purely a question of partisan political affiliations, and no one was asked to think it anything else. The official body that had direct charge of the disgraceful procedure is called—one really blushes to record it—the State Board of Charities.

And what a band of the faithful came to take the places of the discharged officials! There was real humor in the situation were it not for the pity of it. The halt and the blind, intellectually and physically, trooped from all parts of the State, bringing their political credentials, and were at once installed in the offices of the deposed asylum officials. Did they know aught of the care of the insane, of the methods of asylum management? Nonsense! What did that matter? Were they not of the faithful? Had they not worked and voted for the dominant party? Were they not entitled to their reward?

The sequel follows so naturally that it scarcely needs telling. Managing a large asylum is no child's play, and of course matters were soon chaotic at Topeka. Presently there was internecine war among the faithful, culminating in the arrest of the Superintendent on charges preferred by the Assistant Superintendent —the former of course bringing counter charges. Within a year the situation became so desperate that even partisan eyes could no longer be blinded, and the experienced Superintendent who had been deposed was recalled, to undertake the arduous task of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bringing the asylum back to the high level on which it was before the political onslaught was made.

Let me repeat that such onslaughts as this, and they are recurring constantly in one State or another, are permitted by the people not through viciousness but through ignorance. The people of Kansas are not barbarians, however subject they may be to epidemics of the various phases of political insanity, but they are, like people in general, profoundly ignorant of insanity and all that pertains to its treatment. The State Board of Charities simply failed to realize what they were doing when they let politics threaten the welfare of the indigent insane of Kansas. I trust that they are somewhat wiser now, and that their experience may not be without a wholesome effect elsewhere.

Another chapter of the story of Politics and the Insane is furnished by the experience of those States in which so called double-headed asylums have been established. New Jersey furnishes a typical illustration. Here competent medical officers are installed in the asylums, but these officials are wofully hampered by the appointment of political wardens with powers almost or quite equal to those of the chief physician. The full implications of this system are not manifest to the uninitiated, else it would long ago have been banished. I have not space to detail them here, though the subject is tempting. Suffice it that such a double-headed institution is as much a monstrosity among asylums as is a two-headed human being among men. I am told that there was such a human freak on exhibition in the museums of New York not long ago. If I am correctly informed, the right head of this anomalous being controlled the left leg, and the left head the right leg; and the individual—or was it two individuals?—could not walk, because the two brains could not be taught to act concertedly. Well, a double-headed asylum is crippled in much the same way. The plan of having two heads for one organism is so radically wrong that no compensating circumstances can make it work efficiently.

Do the good people of New Jersey wilfully perpetuate such a grotesque system? Assuredly not. Most of them do not even know that they have such an anomaly among them. The politicians begot the monstrosity, and maintain it for the patronage it brings, and the people complaisantly submit to the imposition simply because they do not know that it is an imposition; just

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as in most other affairs we let the boss politicians govern us while in our ignorance we fondly nurse the delusion that we are governing ourselves. But fortunately political affairs have changed recently in New Jersey. Quite a different Board of Control from the old political one now has charge of the affairs of the asylums of that State, and at last there seems some reason to hope that, before long, partisanship may give place to rationality in the conduct of the great charity of caring for the indigent insane.

But perhaps the most telling illustration of the evils that result when the political vampire fixes his hold on supposedly charitable institutions is furnished by existing conditions in regard to the care of the indigent insane in our large cities. It has come to be accepted as quite in the natural order of things that the insane wards of large cities shall be wretchedly cared for. Boston furnishes an honorable exception, sending most of her indigent insane to the excellent State asylums, but New York, and Brooklyn, and Chicago, and Philadelphia—the communities where a large share of the wealth of this country is aggregated—are disgraced in the eyes of right-thinking people by the manner in which they care for their insane dependents. And, in each case, the explanation given by those conversant with the facts is that partisan politics enters into the conduct of asylum affairs.

The exact methods by which the spoilsman operates vary somewhat in the different communities, but the results to the insane are much the same everywhere. Perhaps I can best make the matter plain by citing somewhat in detail the conditions as they exist in New York city.

There are about 6,000 insane patients in the city asylums of the metropolis. The buildings in which these patients are housed have a normal capacity of about 4,000 inhabitants. Some of the buildings are new and reasonably good, but many of them are old and ill-adapted for asylum purposes, and a few are not decently habitable.

As to the character of the food, clothing, and general attendance supplied these patients, a statement of certain financial facts will perhaps be most convincing. The State asylums of New York, which are excellently but not extravagantly conducted, cost the State between four and five dollars per week for each inmate, exclusive of special appropriations for building and repair,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

etc. Conservative persons agree that as much as this is necessary to properly conduct the institutions, and in point of fact much more than this—as much as $6 per week in some cases—has in the past been at times expended.

Now the New York city asylums are much less favorably located, as regards economical management, than the country asylums, yet the largest *per capita* expenditure per week for the care of their inmates ever applied for their conduct is $2.80. The difference between $2.80 and $5 therefore represents relatively the difference between the conditions of the city and State asylums of New York, provided they were under equally judicious management. No one need be told that $2.80 has not the purchasing power of $5, and nothing more need be said as to how the insane dependents of New York city are clothed and fed and attended.

But it remains to note the anomalous fact that whereas only $2.80 is applied for the uses of the insane in the city asylums, almost twice that sum is assessed upon the property of the taxpayers of the city for the care of indigent insane. The excess over $2.80—amounting in the aggregate to about $600,000 annually—is turned into the State treasury, to be applied towards the maintenance of the State asylum system, with which the city has nothing whatever to do, beyond thus helping to support it financially. Brooklyn does the same thing, and together these two cities pay to the State half the entire sum required to conduct the State asylum system. Meantime, as they half care for the insane of the State, they also only half care for their own insane, with the difference that in the latter case no one is at hand to supply the other half. All of which seems very anomalous.

The explanation is found in the old story of politics—a story of legislative deals, of machine manipulations, of spoils. It came about in this wise. When the State Care Act, providing that the State of New York should assume control of all dependent insane and provide for them directly, instead of leaving that duty to the several counties, was under discussion in the Assembly, the political machines of New York city and Brooklyn had no mind to give up control of the patronage that came to them through handling the moneys appropriated by their respective cities for the care of the insane. So, after a battle, a compromise was effected by which these cities were to retain control of their own insane, provided

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they paid their full *pro rata* shares of the tax for carrying out the State system, exactly as if they were to enter into the system. That is to say, they were to share the financial responsibilities of the system without entering into its benefits.

Now, it is easy to see why the people outside the cities consented to this, since it took a large burden of taxation off their shoulders, but it is not so evident at first glance why the cities consented to be robbed in such a manner. The real reason, as just intimated, was that the machines were determined to retain control of asylum patronage and were willing that the taxpayers should be mulcted indefinitely to accomplish that end, if necessary.

And so the deal was consummated; the State-Care Act—in itself an admirable measure—was passed; New York and Brooklyn retained control of their insane, their taxpayers being mulcted about $750,000 a year for the privilege; the political machines handled the funds and doled out patronage to their friends; and the insane—got along as best they might, housed in buildings constructed and repaired by political contractors, clothed by other political contractors, and fed by still others.

It must in justice be added that there is one mitigating circumstance in connection with the systems under consideration. This is the fact that worthy and competent medical officers are in charge of the New York and Kings County asylums. These men, hampered as the are by lack of funds, and by the political propensities of the Commissioners to whom they are responsible, have labored faithfully for their patients, and it would be doing them great injustice not to recognize the value of their efforts. Carrying such a handicap, their fight has been almost a hopeless one, but they have kept it up bravely. Especially is this true in New York city.

The local asylum systems of Philadelphia and Chicago have not even this one redeeming feature. In both of these cities the condition of the indigent insane is even worse than in New York. There are competent medical officials in each case, it is true, but these men are made subordinate to lay superintendents who, whatever their qualifications, are political appointees. Under such conditions the best results in asylum management are not even to be hoped for. It is conceded the world over that a medical man should be the undisputed head of every asylum for the insane, so

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Philadelphia and Chicago systems are utterly indefensible. The reason they are persisted in is that the office of superintendent of the hospitals of which the asylums are a part, is one of the political perquisites of the party in power; and that physicians are seldom politicians of the spoilsman order.

The practical results of the political methods of caring for the indigent insane of Philadelphia may be told in a few words, which I quote from a personal letter written by one perfectly familiar with the facts: "The present system consigns the insane to wretched, crowded dark buildings, that have been odious and odorous for half a century, with no facilities for suitable out-of-door exercise or occupation. The plans and grounds of the asylum belong to a period long passed, and within the buildings the allowance of fresh air equals but a few square feet per patient. All in all, the condition of the iusane here is one of the saddest spectacles to be seen in this country. Yet the politicians have obstinately resisted every effort for improvement." It scarcely needs saying that the reason the politicians resist efforts at improvement, is that the existing system gives them better facilities for patronage than could be hoped for under an improved system,—since in the nature of the case, improvement would imply banishment of the politicians from the field.

As regards the condition of the indigent insane of Chicago—or such of them as are not sent to the State hospitals—the ground may be covered by saying that they are a few degrees worse off than those of Philadelphia. Eight hundred to a thousand patients are crowded into quarters that might with some semblance of decency accommodate half as many. A political lay superintendent is in charge, and the spoils system has full sway in the appointment of all employees, to the lowliest scrubber. The abuses that have been from time to time unearthed in this institution in the past ten years read like the records of a sixteenth century "mad house." They are quite too brutal and disgraceful to be recorded here. The world already knows of them through newspaper reports, which for once could hardly be exaggerated.

The most that can be said for the Chicago system is that it is probably not quite as bad as is was seven or eight years ago. At that time the County Commissioners, who have ultimate authority in the matter—and several of whom are now in prison serving

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

well-earned sentences—set an example by falsifying bills for coal, clothing and provision; the asylum Warden—who now keeps a gorgeous saloon and gambling house in Chicago—followed close in their wake (supplying himself with sixty suits of silk underwear at county expense, among other accomplishments); and the subordinate employees, many of whom were notorious women and criminals, conducted themselves in all respects as might be expected of such characters. The ultimate victims of each phase of the political chicanery were, of course, the supposed recipients of charity.

This, indeed, must be the obvious result everywhere of political interference with asylum affairs. Did space permit I would show more in detail the channels through which such interference operates disastrously. But everyone who is at all familiar with the meaning of the word "patronage," as applied to political affairs, especially in our cities, can supply the details for himself with sufficient accuracy. By recalling, for example, the number of large contracts—for coal, food, clothing, building, repairing, etc.—that must be given out each year by the persons controlling asylum affairs, and which may be, and under existing conditions are, given to political *confreres* exclusively, it will be understood what a political leverage the money appropriated for the care of the insane may be made to wield, even where there is no direct stealing of public funds. How dearly the politicians prize this patronage is well shown by the fact, already cited, that the authorities of New York city and Brooklyn were willing to pay three-quarters of a million dollars annually to the State rather than relinquish their hold on the local asylums. Had they chosen otherwise, their 9,000 indigent insane might have been cared for properly and even handsomely, as is done in the State hospitals, without a single dollar's additional expense to their taxpayers, instead of being treated wretchedly as they are at present. But little enough cared the politicians for the interests of the 9,000 dependents as against the selfish and unlawful interests of the political friends, whose loyalty, thus purchased, was needed to maintain the integrity of the "machines."

At last, however, the power of the corrupt machines has been broken, for the time being, in both New York and Brooklyn; and, the friends of the insane seizing the opportunity so long waited for, are making strenuous efforts to have the asylums of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

these cities transferred to the State system. The existing law authorizes such a transfer, and unless some political trickery at Albany interferes, the transfer will be effected within the next few months. If this is accomplished—as all right-minded persons must hope it will be—the asylums of these great municipalities will be placed on the same high level with the existing State hospitals. It will be a striking and gratifying change from the wretched conditions of the past and present, and it will give to New York city and Brooklyn the enviable distinction of caring for their indigent insane better than the similar dependents of any other large city in the world are cared for. For it is a noteworthy fact that the large cities of the Old World have been as derelict as our own in their provision for the insane. Political interference is not with them as marked as with us, but everywhere there has been a tendency to niggardliness in providing for this most helpless class of dependents in cities, as compared with the provision made for them in rural districts. The asylums of Paris are antiquated and inadequate, and the same was true in London until recently, when modern quarters were provided for at least part of the insane. This London asylum, the new building of the Boston asylum, and a few of the buildings of the New York city asylum, furnish, so far as I am informed, the only exceptions to the rule that the buildings in which the insane dependents of cities are housed are miserably unsuitable. No large city, unless it be Boston (which, as already said, cares for only a few insane directly), has an asylum plant that as a whole is anything like up to date and adequate.

And so it will continue to be while politics controls asylum affairs. And that will be, as long as the residents of our cities are sufficiently ignorant and indifferent to permit existing conditions to continue. As I have said over and over, it is ignorance and not viciousness on the part of the people as a whole that tolerates the abuses that prevail. It was the awakening of the people to true conditions last fall that enables us to hope for reform in the management of the metropolitan asylum through transfer out of the hands of the politicians. A similar arousing of the people of other cities must be secured before reforms can be effected, for the politicians will never willingly relinquish one iota of patronage, and until they are forced aside little can be done.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fortunately it is possible to point out the initial step which the reform movement must take in all cities alike. This is the separation of the affairs of the insane from those of every other class of dependents. At present the affairs of different classes of dependents and delinquents in all our large cities are merged under control of a single board, known usually as a Board or Commission of Charities and Correction, which in all cases is a political board, and through which the political patronage is controlled. This massing of interests of diverse classes is illogical and cumbersome (the New York Department of Charities and Correction controls about 17,000 individuals), but in all large cities it has been persisted in (having originated naturally enough, perhaps, while the communities were relatively small), partly through inertia, but very largely because the politicians have felt that a division would result in loss of patronage. Whenever the people are wise enough to demand that the interests of the insane be made paramount to the interests of politicians, they will insist on making insane patients a class by themselves, under independent management. A movement is on foot to accomplish this in Philadelphia, and it would be accomplished, of course, in New York and Brooklyn by the proposed transfer to the State. It is to be hoped that both movements will prevail, and that Chicago and other cities may soon also find means to emancipate their insane dependents from their political bondage. It is a burning shame that the most helpless of defectives should be preyed upon by politicians anywhere, and a double shame that the communities in which most of the wealth of the country is aggregated, and where the most advanced ideas are supposed to prevail, should be especially subject to such vandalism.

It is bad enough to see the spoils system applied openly to the asylums of communistic Kansas; it is worse to see it applied insidiously in New York. Only ignorance permits it in one community or the other. But let it not be forgotten that ignorance, when due to selfishness and indifference, may come to be almost a crime.

HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BIRDS IN FLIGHT AND THE FLYING MACHINE.

BY HIRAM S. MAXIM.

THE ease with which birds can move from place to place has always excited the envy of mankind, and from the days of Icarus and Daedalus down to the present day, philosophers and mathematicians have tried to solve the secret of a bird's flight.

It has been asserted by many mathematicians, that if a bird should be considered as a machine, it would be quite impossible for it to fly, according to the accepted laws of aëro-dynamics.

When Professor Darwin was in South America many years ago he was unable to account for the flight of the condor. He speaks of seeing condors circling about in a valley, rising higher and higher without any perceptible motion of their wings.

Professor Proctor, the astronomer, while on a visit to Florida, studied the flight of turkey buzzards. He observed that they were able to soar quite independent of any motion of their wings. They seemed to balance themselves on the air and move forward, and sometimes upward, without the expenditure of any force at all. He attempted to account for this on the hypothesis that as they were moving forward at a very high velocity they did not rest on the same air long enough for the air to be set in motion.

Professor Froude, the mathematician, while making a voyage in the South Atlantic, observed the flight of that greatest of all flyers, the albatross, and he admitted that no existing mathematical formula could account for the soaring of these birds without any apparent movement of their wings.

A great many others have written learned treatises on the soaring of birds, but, as far as I know, nothing has yet been published which is altogether satisfactory. Some years ago, while in Spain, I observed the flight of a pair of very large eagles. They came into sight on one side of a large and level plain,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

crossed it almost in a straight line and disappeared without a single apparent motion of their outstretched wings.

I also saw eagles soaring in the Pyrenees in the same way.

I have crossed the Atlantic many times, and have studied the flight of sea-gulls. Some of these birds are able to follow the ship for days at a time, and it is no uncommon thing for a gull to maintain a fixed position in the air as relates to the ship without any apparent exertion at all, and to follow the ship exactly as it would do if it were secured to it with a cord.

All these phenomena seem quite inexplicable if we consider them on the basis that the birds are moving in stationary air. Some mathematicians of the lesser order who only partly understand the question, have supposed that a bird is able to maintain itself on a horizontal current of air, that is, a wind blowing in a horizontal direction, but this would in no way account for the phenomenon, because if a bird should hold itself in a stationary position against a wind that was blowing 25 miles an hour, the conditions would be identical with those which would obtain if the bird were moving forward at the same velocity through stationary air, and we should be quite as unable to account for the soaring in one case as in the other.

Some years ago I passed a winter on the shores of the Mediterranean in the south of France, where I had a good opportunity of observing the mistral and also air currents over the bays in the south of France. I have since made two trips through the entire length of the Mediterranean, and have observed that the winds do not blow in a horizontal direction at all, but that even in what we call a dead calm there are always vertical currents. Sometimes with the ship sailing in a very nearly calm sea, ripples appeared on the water, showing that there was a direct though very slight head wind. I observed that these ripples became less and less as the ship moved onward, until they completely disappeared in a glassy streak, 300 or 400 feet wide and which extended on either side of the ship in nearly a straight line as far as the eye could reach. As soon as this glassy streak was passed I observed that the wind was blowing in the opposite direction, that is, with the ship; and then, perhaps a mile or two ahead, we would find another glassy streak towards which the wind was blowing from both sides. Over the first of these streaks the air was of course descending, and over the other, ascending.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

At Monte Carlo I obtained photographs of the surface of the Mediterranean from the Tête de Chien, which is 2,000 feet above the sea. These photographs show the whole surface of the sea to be streaked like marble. Each glassy streak represents a neutral zone where the air is either ascending or descending, while the water which appears of a darker color in the photograph is covered with small ripples, and on all occasions I observed that the ripples on one side of the glassy zone were travelling in exactly the opposite direction to those on the other side.

Through the whole of the south of France we hear much of the mistral, or a cold, vertical wind. One may be out driving, the weather may be soft and balmy, when suddenly the carriage enters a chilly zone. The air is travelling downwards, spreading itself out over the surface of the earth, becoming warmed, and ascending at some other point. The cause of these vertical currents is, of course, the same as the cause of all winds. The rays from the sun passing through the highly attenuated upper stratum of the atmosphere do not encounter sufficient resistance to communicate any perceptible heat to the air, but the denser air near the surface of the earth becomes heated by contact with the relatively warm earth. We often have, while the sun is shining, a layer of cold air superposed on a layer of hot air. Now as hot air has a less specific gravity at the same pressure than cold air, it follows that these two layers of air are constantly changing places, the relatively warm air at the surface of the earth ascending, expanding, doing work and becoming cooled, while the cold air from above settles to the earth to take the place of the warm air. The velocity with which these vertical currents move is, say, from one mile to six miles an hour, and their movement is quite independent of any other horizontal current that the air may have as relates to the earth at the same time. These currents may be going on in a valley surrounded by mountains without any other action of the atmosphere. On a plain, however, there is also another action taking place at the same time, but which does not in the least interfere with the vertical action, that is, the whole body of air may be passing along over the surface of the earth at the rate, we will say, of 10 miles an hour, while the vertical action is going on at a velocity of, say, four miles an hour. The soaring of a bird may be compared with a boy sliding downhill on a sled. If a hill is, say, 100 feet high, and the sides

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

slope off in a horizontal direction 2,000 feet from the summit, and if the snow is smooth, a boy can mount a sled and advance 2,000 feet while he is falling, as relates to the earth, 100 feet; that is, the sled with the boy on it in falling through a distance of one foot develops sufficient power to drive the sled forward twenty feet, but when the boy is at the bottom of the hill and can develop no more power by falling, the sled soon comes to a state of rest. Suppose now that a hill could be made in such a manner that it would constantly rise at such a velocity that the sled would never reach the bottom of the hill, the boy would then be able to slide forever, and this is exactly what occurs with a bird. A bird places its wings in such a position that, as it falls in the air say one foot, it moves forward through the air twenty feet, that is, it slides along on the surface of the air underneath its wings in the same manner that the boy slides down the hill. Suppose now that the velocity of the bird should be about thirty miles an hour, this would account for the whole phenomenon of soaring on an upward current of only one and one-half miles an hour. With an upward current of two miles an hour, the bird would rise, as relates to the earth, one-half a mile an hour while actually falling through the air at the rate of one and one-half miles an hour. There is no doubt that a bird, by some very delicate sense of feeling and touch, is able to ascertain whether it is falling or rising in the air. It is well known that fish have this power. If a surface fish sinks too deeply in the water the compression of its swim bladder produces a sensation or impression upon its brain, which causes the fish to change its course, and relieves the pressure by coming nearer to the surface, and a similar thing is true of the deep sea fish. If they approach the surface their swim bladder becomes enormously distended and no doubt produces a sensation which the fish know is relieved by again sinking into very deep water. If these fish are caught and drawn to the surface, the distension of the swim bladder becomes so great that it displaces all the other organs of the body. In all probability the numerous air cells which are found in the body of a bird are provided with delicate nerves, which operate in a similar manner to those of the swim bladder of a fish, so that as the bird is moving forward through the air it is able to take advantage of a rising column of air. As a whole we may consider that the rising columns of air would be half of the total area of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the earth's surface, so that a soaring bird would always have a rising column of air which would serve as a support.

Referring to the eagles which I saw in the Pyrenees, on one occasion I observed five of these birds about 500 feet above the peak of a mountain and they were balancing themselves in a stationary position on an ascending column of air produced by the wind blowing over the peak, and seemed to be as much at ease as if they were roosting upon a tree. With the albatross and seagull it will be found that they always occupy the same position as relates to the ship. As the ship passes through the air, the air is divided exactly in the same manner as water would be, and as it comes together again at the stern of the ship it produces an upward current, and it is on this ascending column of air that the albatross and the seagull find a resting place and follow the ship for days at a time without any apparent exertion; but whenever they find themselves in front of the ship or at one side where there is no ascending column of air they have often to work their passage very much as other birds do.

But all birds do not soar. Ducks, geese, partridges and pheasants are types of birds which are provided with comparatively small wings. They only remain on the wing for a short time and while in the air exert an enormous amount of energy and move at a very high velocity. They do not seem to have the power to take advantage of ascending columns of air, but move in a straight line quite independent of air currents, and it is these birds we should seek to imitate in our attempts to navigate the air.

The experiments of Herr Lilienthal are very interesting. He has provided himself with a large pair of wings and a tail. He mounts a high hill and while the wind is blowing up the side of the hill, he throws himself forward with great force against the air and slides down on the ascending column very much as a boy would slide down hill on a sled, his flight being exactly like that of a flying squirrel. The power which drives him onward is of course generated by the act of taking himself and the machine to the top of the hill exactly the same as is the case with the boy and the sled. Lilienthal has certainly proved that it is possible for a man to balance himself in the air, and this at least is a solution of one part of the problem of flight.

Professor Langley has lately made some small flying machines weighing a few pounds which are said to fly a few hundred feet.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hargraves has also made some small machines weighing a few ounces which are said to fly some two or three hundred feet.

Mr. Phillips, a clever engineer living near London, made a small flying machine some years ago which rested on three wheels and was driven by a steam engine. By bottling up his steam and expending all that he had made in twelve minutes in about half a minute, he was able to drive his machine at a sufficient velocity round a circular track to lift two of the three wheels clear of the track.

My own experiments have been made on a very much larger scale than any heretofore conducted. It appeared to me that all other experimenters had made their apparatus so small as not to be able to get a large amount of power out of a small weight of material. My large machine may be considered as a very large and perfectly made kite, the framework consisting of very light and strong steel tubes and covered top and bottom with balloon cloth, waterproofed, and made very sharp fore and aft. To the sides of this framework wings are attached which are also nothing more nor less than kites. If my large machine should be taken on to a level plain and be anchored to the ground, it would weigh about 8,000 lbs. in a calm, but if the wind were blowing at the rate of forty miles an hour, its weight would be *nil*, while if the wind should be blowing at forty-five miles an hour, it would raise the whole machine and 2,000 lbs. additional weight besides into the air after the manner of a kite. But a wind of forty-five miles an hour does not often occur and cannot of course be depended upon, so I have provided myself with a railway track 600 yards in length. If my machine is run into the air at a velocity of forty-five miles an hour, the result is the same as it would be if the machine were stationary and the wind was blowing at this velocity. Instead of the anchor rope for pulling the machine into the air, I use a pair of very large and well made screw propellers, each driven by a very powerful and light steam engine, and when these engines are running at a steam pressure of 310 lbs. to the square inch, they develop 360 H. P., and produce a thrust on the machine of 2,200 lbs. If the machine were flown like a kite in the air, in a wind blowing at forty-five miles an hour, the strain on the cord which held it against the wind would be 2,200 lbs. Consequently when my screws push the machine forward with a total thrust of 2,000 lbs. in a calm air, the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

machine moves forward at forty-five miles an hour and the lifting effect equals the weight of the machine and 2,000 lbs. besides. If I only had an ordinary railway track, some of the wheels of the machine would be sure to leave the track before I had attained a speed of anything like forty miles an hour, so that if I wish to lift all the wheels off the track and not have the machine become unmanageable, it is necessary that I should have something to hold the machine down, and this is accomplished by providing an inverted secondary track just outside and above the ordinary railway track. Outriggers attached to the sides of the machine are provided with four wheels which engage the underneath side of this upper track whenever the machine is lifted clear of the ordinary track. In this way I am able to run my machine to show its lifting effect and still not allow it to get off the track and become unmanageable. In the park where my experiments have been conducted there is barely room for the machine to pass between the large trees, so that manœuvring near the ground is quite out of the question. I have, however, proved that it is possible to make a machine that has sufficient power to lift itself into the air without the agency of a balloon, so it now only remains that I should obtain very much larger premises, unencumbered by trees or buildings, where I can learn to manœuvre my machine. I am only able to devote a small fraction of my time to these experiments, as I am and have been for many years, the managing director of a great English company, but I have put in all the time that I had to spare for the last five years, and the experiments have led me to believe that the flight of man is possible even with a steam engine and boiler. I would, however, advise the young engineers who may read this paper, if they wish to do something to advance the science of aviation, to turn their thoughts in the direction of a petroleum motor. These motors have been greatly improved of late years, and I believe it is the petroleum motor that we must look to in the future as being the engine which will drive our flying machines. Petroleum is cheap and abundant; it may be obtained in any quarter of the globe, and no other substance that we can obtain on a commercial scale contains such an enormous quantity of latent energy.

HIRAM S. MAXIM.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE AGE.

BY THE VERY REV. F. W. FARRAR, DEAN OF CANTERBURY.

OUR daily familiarity with the conditions of things around us often hinders our due apprehension of them. Yet it should certainly be our earnest endeavor to amend to the utmost of our power all existent evils, and out of that duty to posterity by which all true men are influenced, to avert, so far as we may, the perils which menace the not distant future. Let us then glance briefly at some of those problems of the close of this nineteenth century, which it is blindness to ignore, and madness not to appreciate in their full significance.

Among those problems and perils are :

I. The enormous growth of stupendous fortunes, without any effectual diminution of those malarious marshes of struggling poverty, and of the waste places fertile in sorrow, which the French describe under the general name of "*La Misère.*" When zones of plethoric riches, of selfish luxury, of materializing egotism, are conterminous with zones of squalid wretchedness and practical heathendom, such juxtaposition, as a wise Bishop has warned us, tends to produce cyclones. In almost all the great capitals of the world you have fashionable churches and millionaire congregations, and, close beside them, masses of torn, lost, ragged, bewildered, neglected sheep in the wilderness without a shepherd. Two nations are placed side by side ; one nation lives in gorgeous palaces, drives in splendid equipages, indulges in an endless round of banquets and every form of material and æsthetic self-indulgence. It breathes perfumed air, is clothed in purple and fine linen, and fares sumptuously every day. There are splendid patches and crimson embroideries on the robe of our civilization, but how seamy and ragged are the edges of that robe! Turn from the priceless superfluities of the rich quarters—from the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fashionable worship and the æsthetic religionism—to streets in which there is not one decent house or one decent woman, the homes of dim pauper generations in which myriads pass their miserable lives. Even physically the air is foul and loaded with pestilence: but morally—who slew all these? Who is responsible for these lounging, loafing, hulking men—brutes more than men? for these dehumanized women?

> "Oh let it not be named for womanhood:
> Think we had mothers!"

And the children? Ah! that is the deepest horror of it all! There are children who, at four years old, have learned to echo the foul language of their parents, and are familiar with their infamies—wretched children, half-sized, half-fed, without health, without home, without hope; children with stunted, shrunken limbs; with the slum-look on their poor, wizened faces, and many of them maimed, or crippled, or full of disease; children who never heard the name of God but to give emphasis to a curse, or to gain credence for a lie. Then look at the girls—coarse, flaunting, slatternly—with the wicked, leering expression on their bold and brazen features, many of them living on the wages of vice! Who is responsible for this blackness of great darkness? Who is responsible for the filthy lanes and reeking pauper-tenements, places horrible to live in, and yet more horrible to die in, foul with oaths, fights, blasphemies, gin, and verminiferous dirt? Two master fiends rage and riot among them—the fiend of drink, enthroned in glaring gin-palaces, whose enormously wealthy owners are exalted to the House of Peers for kindling the ghastly fires in which so many myriads of human moths scorch themselves into shrivelling agony; and the fiend of impurity, filling the souls and bodies of men and women with leprosy, and producing the blighted offspring who in their turn shall be the retributive scourge of the civilization of which they have been the helpless victims.

II. Consider, secondly, the abnormal growth of great cities. It is no mere external phenomenon.

In almost all nations, by a slow and hardly noticed social revolution, the old sweet country life is being merged into the struggling life of towns—a life which has been called "the grave of the physique of our race," which is also, too often, the grave of its morality.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We might take, by way of example, New York, or Paris, or Berlin, or Vienna, or Rome; but take London as one colossal specimen. When clergymen talk or preach about the evils of cities, men of the world shrug their shoulders with cynical apathy, and set it down as professional declamation. Let me then quote the testimony of wise and eminent laymen, to whom the callousness of familiarity has not made London cease to be an appalling phenomenon.

Here is the impression which the world's capital made on the poet-critic of genius, Heinrich Heine:

"This stern reality of things, this colossal uniformity, this machine-like movement, this sour visage worn by joy itself, this high pressure of life, weighs down the fancy, and rends the heart asunder."

"What a wild, wondrous, chaotic den of discord it is!" said Thomas Carlyle, when first he came to London. "I am often wae and awestruck to wander along its crowded streets, and hear the roaring torrent of animals, and carriages, and horses, and men, all rushing they know not whence, they know not whither."

"One thing about London impresses me," said J. Russell Lowell, "above any other sound I have ever heard. It is the low, unceasing hum one hears in the air. When I hear it, I almost feel as if I were listening to the roaring loom of time."

I will quote but one or two more striking testimonies out of many. Consider this overwhelming condemnation of the phenomena of city life by the late Professor Huxley. Describing an East End parish, in which he had lived for some years, he said:

"Over and above the physical misery, the impression has never died out of my mind of the supernatural and entirely astonishing deadness and dulness of these poor people. Over that parish Dante's inscription, '*Leave hope behind, all those who enter here*,' might have been written. There was no amusement to diversify the dull round of life, except the public house; there was nothing to remind the people of anything in the whole universe, beyond their miserable toil, rewarded by slow starvation. In my experience of all kinds of savages all over the world I found nothing worse, nothing more degraded, nothing more helpless, nothing so intolerably dull and miserable, as the life I had left behind me in the East End of London. Nothing would please me more than to contribute to the bettering of that state of things, *which, unless wise and benevolent men take it in hand, will tend to become worse and worse, and to create something worse than savagery—a great Serbonian bog, which in the long run will swallow up the surface crust of civilization.*"

Here again is the impression left by London on two such emi-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nent living observers as Lord Rosebery and Mr. Chauncey Depew:

"I am always haunted," says Lord Rosebery, "by the awfulness of London; of the great appalling effect of these millions, cast down, as it would appear, by hazard, on the banks of this noble stream, working each in their own groove, and their own cell, without heeding each other, without having the slightest idea how the other lives—the heedless casualty of unnumbered thousands of men. Cobbett called London 'a wen.' If it was a wen *then*, what is it now but a tumor, sucking into its great system half the life and the blood of the rural districts?"

"One Sunday," said Mr. Chauncey Depew, "I traversed the Whitechapel district, and saw a sight it is impossible to see anywhere else in the world. Such poverty, such misery, such wretchedness, such a seething furnace of ignorance, and all the attendants upon it, I never saw before, and never expect to see again. I felt that that great city, with its magnificent palaces, with every evidence, in part of it, of the greatest wealth and the largest luxury, *rests upon a volcano, which only needs the force of civilization to loosen upon it, to produce a catastrophe which would shock the world.*"

Once more consider the terrible, but perfectly accurate, lines of Lord Tennyson:

"Is it well that, while we range with Science, glorying in the time,
City children soak and blacken, soul and sense, in city slime?
There among the glooming alleys Progress halts on palsied feet,
Crime and hunger cast our maidens by the thousands on the street.
There the master scrimps the haggard seamstress of her daily bread,
There a single crowded attic holds the living and the dead;
There the smouldering fire of fever creeps along the rotted floor,
And the crowded couch of incest in the warrens of the poor."

III. Thirdly, is there nothing to cause anxiety in the huge unparalleled *growth of population?* It has so greatly alarmed France that there a large family is a rare exception, and there in consequence the population is diminishing. In India, the rapid increase of population has already caused the depression of vast masses of the people into almost chronic starvation. In England, densely overcrowded England, the births exceed the deaths by hundreds a day, and what shall we do in the end thereof? Even now there is severe and almost overwhelming competition. Advertise that you want a clerk on £100 a year, who will have to work any number of hours a day, and you will get many scores of eager and anxious applicants. Already in England the depression has reached whole classes—the *tenant farmers,* of whom many are on the verge of bankruptcy; the smaller *shopkeepers* who suffer from over-competition, and the inevitably changing conditions of trade; the *clerks,* whose little-skilled employment

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is rendered less valuable by the thousands who crowd their ranks in the belief that clerkship is more respectable than mechanical labor; the *clergy*, of whom large numbers, suffering from the agricultural depression, are entangled in painful difficulties; the *working-classes*—who are indeed hardly a class, but are the backbone of the nation—whose employment not only becomes more and more irregular and uncertain, but many of whom are dispossessed by foreigners, who can work longer, are better trained, and can live on less. Meanwhile the increase of population which is going on is mainly the increase of the unfit; it is 10 per cent. more rapid in the slums than in the squares, and its fermenting and irrepressible rapidity—which has multiplied the inhabitants of England more in this fragment of a century than it had been multiplied in eight centuries after the Norman conquest—is largely due to the curse of disgracefully early marriages between half-developed boys and girls who enter on the estate of matrimony "within half a crown of destitution." Add to all our other difficulties the fact that our whole industrial system may, at no distant date, be endangered by tremendous hurricanes of disturbance, and if, at any time, the diminished profits of the capitalist should end in glutted markets, in paralyzing strikes, in commercial stagnation, in the alienation to foreign and especially to Eastern lands of many of our most important trades—if, instead of tens of thousands, we should soon have hundreds of thousands of the unemployed upon our hands, must it not be admitted that very dark days may be within measurable distance of our present conditions of society ?

IV. The dangerous elements to which I have alluded tend ever to increase and multiply. It might have been thought that national misgiving is inconsistent with the growth—or rather with the advance by leaps and bounds—of natural resources. The increase of our income has, indeed, been enormous—greater, as Mr. Gladstone has said, from 1800 to 1850 than from the days of Julius Cæsar to 1800, and from 1850 to 1880 than from 1800 to 1850—so that now our annual income is asserted to be quite £1,300,000,000 a year, and our national investments are calculated at £200,000,000 a year. Yet though the actual laborers are ever being multiplied, "the fund available for them becomes a constantly decreasing factor of the national wealth"; and while the rich are growing richer great masses of the poor are growing

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

relatively poorer, so that in large parts of England a considerable fraction of the population is living continually on the dim borderland of pauperism.

In ancient Rome such contrasts of

> "Wealth a monster gorged
> Mid starving populations"

were deemed ominous. In ancient cities there were the dark shadows always flung by a brilliant civilization—there were the gladiators, and the slaves—but in modern cities too there is "a certain mass of crushed and unreclaimed humanity, the canker that feeds on the exuberance of its luxury, and perforates it with misery and decadence." "There is," said Mr. J. Russell Lowell, "a poison in the sores of Lazarus, against which Dives has no antidote."

> "Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey
> Where wealth accumulates, and men decay."

VI. And it must, I fear, be sorrowfully admitted that one bad omen of these days is the *deficiency of adequate charity*. In London the hospitals are the most popular of all the charities; and yet in that wealthiest city in the world there is scarcely one of the hospitals which is not burdened with deficits, and compelled to issue despairing appeals. The sum expended in our charities is loudly vaunted and sounds large, but the reality of charity is tested not by the *quantum* but by the *ex quanto*. On what is called "Hospital Sunday," in every church of every religious denomination, London is appealed to in hundreds of earnest and even impassioned sermons. What is the result? Only from £40,000 to £50,000! and the next day you read that £76,000 or £100,000 has been emulously poured out by a handful of rich people at Christie's, to purchase buhl, or bric-à-brac, or Queen Anne plate, or Louis Quatorze furniture, and that more has been bidden for a piece of ormolu or a gold snuffbox, or three Sèvres vases than is contributed by several of our wealthiest congregations. Our much belauded charities are, when nationally estimated, a proof of our meanness, not a monument of our munificence.

Yet an experienced civil engineer warns us that "we are on the verge of a revolution in thought and practice, and the only way to make this revolution harmless, and even beneficial, is to give, freely and betimes, that which else will be taken later on."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VII. These things being so, *the growth of democracy*, the power of the workingmen, the demands of the Socialists and of the independent labor party, are not without a sinister significance. Pope Leo XIII. would not have written his Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* if he had not been aware of the extent to which labor questions are coming to the front. We cannot put our ears to the ground and listen, without hearing the low murmur of the swelling tide of the people. "I see them rising to their feet," says the eloquent Bishop of Derry, "the greatest host that time has ever known, and hear the murmur of millions speaking to millions across the sea in many languages. What there is in the gospel to rectify the relations of human life, to elevate the selfishness of capital and chasten the selfishness of labor, to carry to the homes improvement in the present and hope for the future, that will find eager listeners. But to the men of the near future religion will appear a barren and worthless stem unless it be taught to clothe itself with the blossom of worship, and to bear the fruits of human love." But if that be so, it is sad to observe how angry and how contemptuous is the attitude toward the Church and the churches among the artisans and laborers in many centres of commercial and agricultural industry.

Now, amid all these grave conditions, is there any hope? We know, and many years ago Mr. Gladstone eloquently reminded us, that: "It is against the ordinance of Providence, it is against the interests of man, that immediate reparation should be possible when long-continued evils had been at work; for one of the strongest safeguards against misdoing would be removed, if at any moment the consequence of misdoing could be repaired." But if there be no hope of an immediate Utopia, is there no hope of gradual amelioration?

Yes! there is, if nations remain true to the lessons of the Gospel. It is the *only* gospel for the many and for the poor. They can look to no other source of help, hope, or comfort. Science has no gospel for them, and can point them to nothing but vast, mysterious, inexorable laws "which have no ear to hear, no heart to pity, and no arm to save." Political economy has no gospel for them, but the cruel demonstration that the weak must go to the wall, and that those who stumble in the race can only be trampled pitilessly down under the hoof of advancing

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

generations. Socialism has no gospel for them, but only the false hopes held out by impossible theories, which, if even for a time they were carried out by anarchic violence, would only plunge mankind into more unutterable ruin. But true religion *can* create convictions which will inspire them with courage, energy, and hope; which by the extinction of vice and drunkenness, will give them even amid poverty and struggle, a power to raise themselves into the true self-respect of those who have the dignity of God's image upon them, and the sign of their redemption visibly marked upon their foreheads.

If then another characteristic of this age be *the decay of faith*, it is the worst omen of all. Is there this decay of faith? It is at least a perilous sign that, in many Christian countries, thousands choose atheists, and socialists, and men of no religion, and men of religions utterly hostile to their own, to represent them in their Congresses and Parliaments; that not ten per cent. of the working classes go to church or receive the eucharist; that in France, Spain and Italy Roman Catholicism —on the testimony of Roman Catholics themselves—has so completely lost all hold on the manhood of the Continent that millions of nominal Roman Catholics do not even pretend to follow out the most elementary external rules and requirements of their religion; that among all English-speaking races the word Agnosticism—though a word of yesterday—is descriptive of a widespread mental phenomenon; that leading newspapers discuss such questions as "whether they have not been, on the whole, a curse to the world?" that the "Catechism" of Free Thinkers is widely spread among our working classes; that powerful governments have erased from their statute books the name of God.

Some readers may perhaps ask whether it is the object of this paper to point to pessimistic conclusions. I answer by no means. "Our healing," says Mr. Lowell, "is not in the storm or in the whirlwind; it is not in monarchies or aristocracies, or democracies, but will be revealed by the still small voice that speaks to the conscience and the heart, prompting us to wider and wider humanity." The regeneration of society has always come from individuals; never from committees. It will not be achieved, it never has been achieved by legislation. It cannot possibly be brought about by violence. Verbal orthodoxy is absolutely powerless to accomplish reformations. Ceremonial religionism may co-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

exist and has often co-existed with the most detestable enormities. But let each true Christian man live up to his profession, let him walk worthy of the vocation wherewith he is called, let him boldly rebuke vice and be ready patiently to suffer for the truth's sake, and then that salt of sincerity has *not* lost its savor, and will be adequate for the regeneration of the world. It is the duty of every one of us, to the best of our power, to claim and to reclaim; to build upon the foundations, or if that has become impossible, to rebuild among the ruins; to break up the fallow-ground, and make the old waste places blossom as the rose. Then shall we be called "the repairers of the breach, the restorers of paths to dwell in." We are called upon neither to groan, nor to despond, but to work. When Lord Reay breathed the somewhat vapid wish, "Well, God mend all." "*Nay!*" answered Sir David Ramsay, "*Nay, Donald, but we must help Him to mend it.*"

Let us lay it down as an unalterable law that God never does for man, what man can and ought to do for himself. We have seen for generations that

> "God can never make man's best,
> Without best men to help Him."

But when once we rouse ourselves to genuine Altruism, there is no knowing what even the humblest may not accomplish. "A common slave" says the great tragedy,

> "A common slave—you know him well by sight—
> Held up his left hand, which did flame and burn
> Like twenty torches joined: and yet his hand,
> Not sensible of fire, remained unscorched."

There is not one of us so humble that we may not become like that poor slave. There is no hand, which if bravely uplifted to God in the service of men amid the dark world and its doing faith, may not burn in testimony "like twenty torches joined"—illuminating, strengthening, warning, revivifying, hastening the final dominance of that kingdom which even now is, and shall be more and more.

F. W. FARRAR.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE MICROBE AS A SOCIAL LEVELLER.

BY CYRUS EDSON, M. D.

THE germ idea of Socialism, that all members of the body politic are theoretically and should be practically joint partners in one great co-operative state, which should paternally look after the affairs of each and should, by supplementing the individual efforts with the aggregate of influence and wealth, thereby insure individual prosperity, was not promulgated for the first time when Mr. Bellamy published his successful book, *Looking Backward*. In Plato's *Republic* and Bacon's *Utopia*, not to mention other ideal states, the theory so fascinating to the weak and those who have found themselves outstripped in the race of life was worked out to the full. The power of the state, the power inherent in many large community of men, that power which we all realize exists, has more than once in the dreams of men taken the place of the good fairy of the nursery tale and, with a wave of the magic wand, made all men prosperous and happy. It is a fascinating idea, the community of interest and helpfulness, the utilization of the power of all for the good of all, the loyal service given by each to all, and the gracious protection and aid given by all to each.

More than this, the theory, like the majority of theories, rests on a basis of fact. Not only has co-operation in its crudest form done much for men, as in the English co-operative stores, but in a more complicated manifestation, such as an insurance company, it has proved itself capable of great good. I am not certain, however, whether these two examples do not illustrate at once the value and the weakness of co-operation. While the stores in England have enabled those belonging to them to get more for their incomes, and have thus done these people good, it may be questioned whether, when there is set down on the other page of the ledger

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the number of individual trades people driven out of business by the stores, the net result to the nation at large is on the credit side. On the other hand, the majority of those who pay their money to insure their homes against fire really pay a little more than the companies ever pay back. Co-operation here merely comes in to assume the burden in case the insured should not have time to protect himself by his payments. In other words, if the individual shall, through circumstances beyond his control, be prevented from protecting himself, his fellows will protect him. The principle at the base of this is directly opposed to Socialism, because it demands as the primary condition that the individual shall help himself.

From the standpoint of the Socialist, all men are bound to help each other. The anti-Socialist, on the other hand, bases his theories of political and social economy solely on individual effort. The Socialist claims that if all will only unite, each will be prosperous to a greater degree than he can possibly be when left to struggle unaided. The anti-Socialist declares that if each will struggle to the measure of his ability, all will be prosperous. Facts as they exist to-day are on the side of the latter; for those nations which are the most prosperous of all—such nations as England, France, and the United States—are those in which individual effort is most untrammelled by "paternalism" in government. Whether we should see equal prosperity in a Socialistic nation we cannot tell, simply because there is at the present time no Socialistic nation. Nor can we appeal to the past, because while there are many instances of "paternalism"—witness Spain under Philip the Second—there is no one in which the people have governed and have directed this "paternalism" to their own good. So far as Socialistic principles in political economy are concerned, we are obliged to look on them as theories only, and therefore, however good they may be, as "not proven."

While it may be true that individual effort is the real foundation of national prosperity, when the theory of individuality is carried to its legitimate conclusion—namely, that no one man has any interest in any other, except so far as their mutual relations bring profit to each—we are able to say, without hesitation, the theory is false. It is not only in material things that the prosperity of each is dependent on that of his fellows. Disease binds the human race together as with an unbreakable chain. More than

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this, the industrial development of the world has enlarged this chain until now all nations are embraced within its band. Nothing is easier than for a man with a comfortable income, which is amply sufficient for his wants, to say the poverty of his neighbor or fellow-citizen is of little interest to him. Nothing is easier to say, nothing is more false in fact.

What we call hygiene has grown with the discoveries made by those clever men who have devoted their lives to the study, until now it is a recognized science. Its laws have been formulated and their operation is well understood. Not wholly, be it observed, for there are many things about them we do not yet know—as, for example, the effect on the contagion of disease produced by Telluric atmospheric and perhaps solar conditions; that there is a connection is believed by many scientific men, and is not wholly denied even by those who do not consider the evidence so far to be conclusive. Still, while there is much yet to be discovered, enough has been learned to enable us to fight disease in a way undreamed of by our forefathers. The science of hygiene is the science of the prevention of disease; and it is the aim of all physicians now to so guard their patients as to have no disease to treat. This has been rendered possible by the discovery, by Pasteur and others, of the microbes of disease, of the "infinitely little" organisms, which produce particular ailments in humanity. This discovery was in two parts: first, that contagious diseases are caused by microbes; second, that contagious diseases produce microbes which either as microbes or their products will in turn produce the disease in those who are well.

The discovery of the microbes and of the work they do has naturally resulted in the community preparing itself for the fight with these little enemies. The work of boards of health is very different to-day from that which similar bodies performed twenty-five years ago. Of course the fact of the contagion of disease was known a thousand years back, and the experience of mankind was reflected in such institutions as the quarantine. But the efforts put forth against contagion rested with quarantine for a long time. If disease broke out in a city, as the plague broke out in London during the reign of Charles the Second, the physicians were at a loss. The people had but one safeguard—they ran away, and thus carried the disease to other parts of the country. It would be impossible to-day for the plague to ravage any

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

city in the civilized world as it ravaged London, simply because, although we do not definitely know what the plague was—it is believed to have been typhus fever by many—we are certain it was a disease caused by and developing microbes, we should fight it exactly as we fight any contagious disease, and we should win the same victory. It is owing to the discovery of the laws of hygiene, and their practical application, that we are enabled to check disease when it appears, to seize it and say it shall not spread. The record of the work of the Board of Health of the city of New York during the outbreak of cholera in 1892 may be fairly said to be an example of absolute control of contagious disease.* While there were eleven cases of cholera, there was not one secondary case. In other words, there was not one case in which the contagion travelled from the sick to the well. While the cases produced the microbes of the disease, these were destroyed as fast as they appeared; and, so far as that outbreak was concerned, the contagion of cholera was practically annihilated. This record has never been excelled, simply because it never could be. It was a perfect victory for the science of hygiene.

While the communities have, through their boards of health, prepared for the battle with contagious disease, and while they can trust with perfect confidence to their defences, the work of the men employed in those boards reveals to them more clearly day by day the close connection which exists between the health interests of all members of the community, be these rich or poor. The microbe of disease is no respecter of persons; it cannot be guarded against by any bank account, however large. True it is that nature herself has set many defences in the path of the microbe, and that these, when the body is well nourished, warmly clad, and properly housed, are generally worthy of being relied on. So far wealth will protect, for he whose health is not weakened by external conditions is less apt to contract disease. But it is unfortunately true in this country that the competition which has grown out of the untrammelled individual effort is so keen and the stress and strain of life so great that the demands on the nervous strength are heavier than those made during any period of which we have knowledge. Excessive demands on nervous strength are even worse than those on the physical, when

* Foreshadowed in article published in NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, October, 1892, "Safeguards Against Cholera."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the ability to resist disease is under consideration, because the greatest safeguard of all is that mysterious thing we call vitality, and nervous exhaustion in degree attacks or rather lessens this, first of all. It is the fact, therefore, in this American life, that the conditions surrounding those who have wealth are such as to lessen the value of that wealth when looked at as a safeguard against the microbes beginning their deadly work.

The Socialistic side of the microbe is to be found, then, in the fact that we may only fight diseases in a community by meeting it everywhere. We cannot separate the tenement-house district from the portion of the city where the residences of the wealthy stand, and treat this as being a separate locality. The disease we find in the tenement-house threatens all alike, for a hundred avenues afford a way by which the contagion may be carried from the tenement to the palace. We must, if we would guard the health of the people, look on them as being one whole, not as being several communities, each complete in itself. Their health interests are in common, and the conditions affecting them have many points of resemblance. If the tenant of the tenement be susceptible to disease, because of poor food and insufficient clothing, the inmate of the mansion has his vitality weakened by the worry and anxiety inseparable from business life.

To the man of wealth, therefore, there is a direct and very great interest in the well-being of the man of poverty. The former cannot afford to sit at his well-covered table and forget the absence of food in the latter's poor room, because that absence of food means, sooner or later, that disease will break out in the room, and the microbes or their spores will in time pass the heavy curtains on the windows of the mansion to find their prey inside. This is the Socialism of the microbe, this is the chain of disease, which binds all the people of a community together.

It is at first somewhat difficult to understand the connection between the prosperous man in this country and the poor, ignorant, down-trodden peasant of such a country as Russia. Yet, see how plain it is. The crops in five provinces of Russia failed almost entirely in the summer and fall of 1889, and a wide-spread famine, during which many thousands died, was the result. A simple influenza, a species of almost harmless although contagious inflammation of the mucous membranes, attacked these famine-reduced people. Owing to their ill-fed condition, this influenza was

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

intensified in character under the law discovered by Pasteur, that contagion may be either intensified or attenuated by the medium through which it is caused to pass. Thus a virulent form of *grippe* was produced, a contagious disease having the power of exhausting the vital energy of those attacked to an almost incredible degree. The disease spread rapidly, it journeyed along the travelled roads of commerce to Germany, France, and England, until it at last reached the United States. It attacked those persons whose vitality was low, and it brought many hundreds of people to the grave. So there were many funerals in this country because the crops failed in those Russian provinces, and because, in consequence, thousands of Russian peasants were reduced to starvation.

This is as good an illustration of the intimate health relation existing between all men in the world to-day as I could offer. It would not be hard to find others: the Board of Health of New York city had to fight the cholera because there was an unusual drought in Persia, near the city of Meshed, when the pilgrims gathered there in 1891 at the tomb of a Mohammedan saint.

If these things are true of the world at large, how much more intimate must be the connection between the health interests of the people of the same city? The efforts which are being made at the present time to alleviate the suffering and to give work to the unemployed are not all charity. They are a real effort on the part of those who have the money to defend themselves and the community at large from disease.

During the great famines that affected the countries of Europe and Asia in the Middle Ages, and since, for every death that occurred from starvation and its consequent exhaustion, ten persons lost their lives from infectious diseases that originated or were intensified by the privations entailed by distress.

In the sixteenth century the frightful condition of the prisons and the sufferings of the prisoners caused an outbreak of typhus fever, which killed not alone the wretched criminal, but also the justices on the bench, who were thus punished for their tolerance of the conditions in which the disease found its birth. This is the lesson taught by history, which to-day we see by the light of the great discoveries of sanitary science. We might call it the Moral of the Past, as seen through the Microscope.

CYRUS EDSON.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A STUDY IN WIVES.

BY MAX O'RELL, GRANT ALLEN, KARL BLIND, AND H. H. BOYESEN.

THE FRENCH WIFE.

THE politics of matrimony is a science inborn in French women. Let a French woman be the mistress of a superb mansion in the Champs-Elysées or of a poor little fifth-floor flat, she always has the charm of feminality. However poor she may be, she is always tidy, smart, alert, *bien coiffée*, *bien gantée* and *bien chaussée*. She has a little bustling, fluttering way about her that will always keep your interest in her alive. Every one of her movements is supple and artistic. To lift her dress modestly and gracefully as she crosses a muddy street, she has not her equal in the world. She may be sometimes, I confess, a little affected, but she is never vulgar, and when she speaks to you you cannot guess from her speech whether she is the wife of what society calls a gentleman or not. Put a little French seamstress or milliner in the most aristocratic drawing-room for an hour, thanks to her keen power of observation and her native adaptability, she will, at the end of that hour, talk, cross the room, sit down, rise, leave the room as simply, as naturally, as the most high-born lady in it.

Her constant aim is to be interesting to her husband. She multiplies herself. In turn she is his friend, his confidante, his partner in business, his chum, and, if I may use the word in its best and most refined sense, his mistress. She is forever changing her appearance. For instance, you will seldom see a French married woman wear her hair in the same way longer than three or four weeks. She knows that love feeds on trifles, on illusion, on suggestion. She knows that, when a man loves his wife, a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rose in her hair, a new frock, a bonnet differently trimmed, will revive in him the very emotion that he felt when he held in her his arms for the first time. She also knows that the very best dishes may sometimes become insipid if always served with the same sauce.

She understands to a supreme degree the poetry of matrimony. I have heard men say that matrimony kills poetry. The fools! There is no poetry outside of it. And the poetry has all the more chance to live long in French matrimonial life because our wedding ceremony is not, as in England, the end of courtship, but only the beginning of it. In France, when you have married your wife, you have to win her, and the process is very pleasant. I have often told my English friends that if in their country there were not so many kisses indulged in before the wedding ceremony, there would be a great many more administered after it. Why is the French woman of forty so attractive? Because every feature of her face shows that she has been petted and loved.

But, some Englishmen have said to me, in France couples marry without knowing anything of each other. That is true.

In England I have known couples who had been engaged ten years and who were still hoping to know something of each other. Poor couples! They might be engaged fifty years without attaining that end! Life, during an engagement, consists of sentimental walks, the repetition of the same story. The sky is serene, the sea is smooth. How do they know they are good sailors until they have been in the same boat in a good big storm?

Ah, let misfortunes come, to say nothing of the price of butter and the length of the butcher's bill! When they are engaged and they leave their respective homes to meet, they look at themselves in the glass to see there is nothing amiss about their toilet. They are on their best behavior; they put a bridle on their tongues. But, put them married, of an evening, one each side of the fireplace, he sulking over a book with his slippers on (his slippers on, what an utter want of respect to a woman!) and she with her curl papers. True love may get over the curl papers, but it must be very, very true. And why curl papers? Let us talk about it. Why, you will say, to be beautiful, to be sure! Oh, but when? *Only to-morrow.* That is too late. A French

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

woman is never visible before noon, not even to her husband, because all the morning she has her curl papers on, so as to be beautiful the same evening. Do you see the difference? Do you understand how practical this is?

Through French life, the married woman goes on the principle laid down by Balzac, that a man who penetrates into his wife's dressing-room is either a fool or a philosopher. She does want him to be a philosopher, and she takes great care that he does not make a fool of himself.

MAX O'RELL.

THE ENGLISH WIFE.

THERE is no one ideal of the English wife—because there is no one ideal of anything in England. The English nation, as Matthew Arnold long ago pointed out, consists of three distinct and mutually antagonistic elements,—the aristocracy, the middle class, and the artisans and laborers. Each of these has its own ideas, if any; each of these goes its own way in utter isolation, unaffected by the ideas that obtain above or below it. I shall, therefore, treat of the three elements separately, beginning, as is natural, at the lowest rung of the ladder.

The ideal wife of the laboring classes is a housewife and mother of the antique Teutonic pattern. She rules the kitchen. Before she married, she went out to service for some years in a gentleman's house, where she acquired those habits of neatness and tidiness which stand her in good stead in her husband's cottage. She was cook or housemaid or "general"—a "general" is best for the working man; and she knows how to make ten shillings a week go as far as the condition of the market can carry it. After "keeping company" with her young man from sixteen to twenty-four, she succeeds in marrying him. She is a mother of ten children living, "and five in the churchyard," which last episode she regards as a natural incident of maternity. She brings them all up to be neat and tidy like herself, sends them to board-school betimes, with shoes and stockings on their feet, and puts them out in the world to the best advantage as soon as they have passed the sixth standard. The boys go to trades, for she means them to rise; for the girls, she gets places in a gentleman's family—for choice the rector's—where they are well taken

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

care of. She sends the little ones to church neatly dressed on Sunday, and sometimes goes herself, but not too often, for she must stop at home to cook the one hot weekly dinner. When she shows up at church or chapel at all, it is chiefly in the evening; after which she may go for a walk with "her man" and gossip with her neighbors. She has the profoundest faith in her well-meaning husband, and often remarks that "no woman hadn't never a better man than our Joe;" he seldom strikes her, except when he's been drinking; and even then, he's always sorry for it afterwards. She manages to extract from him by dexterous coaxing every Saturday night the greater part of his wages, save only so much as the common feeling of virile dignity compels him to retain for expenditure at the public house. She never grumbles about his pipe and his tobacco. She sends him his "vittles," hot in a can, to the place where he works, by one of the children. She spends her life in hard toil, endless household drudgery; she washes and cooks and sews and makes beds for her husband, herself, and her ten clean little ones, their faces are almost as white as their pinafores; yet she believes in God in a blind sort of way, and attaches great importance to religious ceremonies. But she has no soul; how could she find time to attend to one? She is the material ideal of a materialized, brutalized, soulless peasantry; she does her duty in that state of life to which it has pleased God to call her with a heroism that moves one's respectful pity.

The ideal wife of the middle classes touches far higher planes. She can play the piano! As a girl, she was brought up at a good average school, where she learnt to be a lady, and not much else save to write an invitation. She is usually good looking, buxom and bright as a girl, rather than refined or spiritual. Her cheeks are rosy. He meets her, falls in love with her (if the phrase may stretch so far), and straightway gets engaged to her. She is faithful to him with a fidelity that knows no faltering. She does not idealize him, but she loves him dearly, and believes with touching faith in his solid goodness. She thinks John perfect. After some years of waiting they are rich enough to marry, and she settles down at once into the purely domestic wife and mother. Her function is not to live her own life or expand her own soul, but to play the part of his social representative. She is an appanage of his respectability. She presides with solemn

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and silent dignity at the head of his table. She drives out with portly pride in his carriage, when he gets one. She calls on his friends' wives, and asks their daughters in due rotation to tea and tennis. She produces six wholesome-looking children herself at measured intervals, and spends most of her time thenceforth in frittering uselessly over their nursery arrangements. She takes no part whatsoever in her husband's business, and asks no questions about it; she contents herself with spending her housekeeping money wisely, to the best advantage, and dressing herself and her pretty children as creditably as possible on their respective allowances. She keeps the home beautiful, with antimaccassars and white muslin curtains. She continues to play the piano in a progressively feeble way till the girls succeed her, but she makes no other sacrifices to the strange gods of culture. She is not much of a novel reader; into poetry or general literature, still less into science or thought or politics, she makes no wild excursions. Her domain is the drawing-room; in her husband's mind she represents the social and gracefully artistic, or emotional, side of his serious existence. For him, the counting-house; for her, the parlor! As she grows old she develops laterally into the British matron—an awesome person of a certain size, a certain age, and great social distinction. She then devotes herself wholly to her girls and boys, trying to make the first into replicas of herself, and to prevent the last from doing in early life exactly as their dear father did. She carries the whole family triumphantly to church, and marries her daughters well to men of excellent principles. She is the simple and unattractively virtuous ideal of a solid, stolid, unimaginative *bourgeoisie.*

The ideal wife of the aristocracy—does not exist. The British aristocrat has no ideals. He was born cynical, with a good-humored, matter-of-fact, man-of-the-world sort of cynicism; and he carries his congenital creed unabashed through the world with him. He sows his wild oats in many fields; then he marries, for the settlements. His wife is rich, or beautiful, or both; she lives in society. He and she go their own ways forthwith; and those ways usually land one or other in the divorce court. Occasionally both of them reach that goal together. They smile and part, after rearranging the settlements which form the practical basis; thence they drift into the world once more, and begin

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

again *da capo*. Their ideal is to enjoy themselves; in their own reckless way they usually attain it.

GRANT ALLEN.

THE GERMAN WIFE.

WHEN a German is asked about the best qualities of the women of his fatherland, he is, first of all, apt to think of those who have written and sung in their praise since olden times. Our cultured classes are very much historically inclined. Their thoughts, therefore, easily go back to Tacitus, who says that, in the opinion of our forefathers, "something sacred and prophetic attached to women; that their councils did not remain disregarded, their utterances not undervalued."

The Roman author speaks of the famed prophetess, Veleda, of Aurinia, and other women held in high veneration. Not servile flattery, he adds, was conferred upon the female sex, as if it were composed of goddesses. But so fondly were husbands devoted to their wives, so great was the respect paid to womankind in general, that the idea of any of them falling into the enemy's hands was more unbearable to a German than the prospect of his own captivity. In battle mothers and wives tended the wounded, and their applause of bravery was looked upon as the highest reward. Their prayers and laments as to the fate which would await womenfolk in case of defeat often produced a fresh, courageous rally among the shaken ranks of a sorely-pressed warrior host. In several chapters Tacitus draws a remarkable picture of the ideal state of things as regards marriage among that primitive Teuton nation, conveying thereby a manifest, though veiled, satire upon the manners and morals prevailing in his home at Rome. "A German wife," he also says, "was not to look upon herself as being outside the world of thought of struggling men. The very ceremonies of her union to a husband were to remind her that she was to be his associate in trials and dangers."

But enough of classic testimony, of which there is plenty. When we come to the Middle Ages, there is a wealth of poetical effusions among our Minnesingers in honor of German women and wives. Foremost among them stands Walther von der Vogelweide, the greatest lyrical bard of his time in Germany, whose renown shone through many following centuries. He "had seen

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

many lands, and with the best people he had become well acquainted; but evil, he thought, should befall him if foreign manners were to please him more. Between the Elbe and the Rhine, and up to the frontiers of the Hungarian land, he had found the best women of the world; they were like unto angels." "Virtue and pure love—he who seeks them (says Walther) should come to our country, where there is a fullness of bliss. Oh, may I long live there!"

There is occasionally a different strain between those rapturous pæans even in Walther. Ulrich von Lichtenstein, who wrote a book called "Frauendienst" (Worship of Women), is also responsible for a later one, in which, in the form of a dialogue, the decay of chivalrous love is deplored, and the fault mutually thrown by a knight and a noble lady upon each other's sex. But it must not be forgotten that these amatory productions of our mediæval singers, especially of those of aristocratic descent, had always a tinge of the artificial in them. They rather point to the special customs of a class whose poetical spokesmen were in the habit of celebrating love adventures of a sometimes risky kind under the garb of an almost eccentric use of purity talk.

Famous in mediæval German tradition is the history or tale of the *Weibertreu* ("Wives' Fidelity"), which has been sung by Bürger. It refers to the siege of the town of Weinsberg, in Suabia, by the Emperor Konrad III., in the twelfth century, when, after the capitulation, the men who had offered a long and stiffnecked resistance were sentenced *en masse* to death, whilst their wives were to be allowed to leave without hindrance, taking with them, "what was most precious to them." Instead of clothes and jewelry, as was expected, they came out of the stronghold with their husbands on their backs. It is, at any rate, a pretty tale, typifying the ideal German wife of the burgher class.

It need not be said that in the many centuries which followed upon the literary epochs of the Minnesingers and of the Mastersingers, or civic bards, the praise of women is occasionally varied by pungent squibs. That is an inevitable result of the march of civilization which produces many and different types. Yet even so great and merciless a satirist as Fischart, the German Rabelais of the sixteenth century, has wonderfully sweet descriptions of the happiness of domestic life, of the soothing ways and manners

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the true *Hausfrau* and of the tender love between parents and children. However, it would lead too far, considering the restricted space allotted to the contributions to this symposium to say more of Fischart's or of the many modern poets' and writers' references to the ideal German woman. Goethe, in his *Torquato Tasso,* makes the Princess say:

"Willst du genau erfahren, was sich ziemt,
So frage nur bei edlen Frauen an."

This has become a standard quotation in German literature. Again, who does not know Schiller's poem:

"Würde der Frauen"—
Ehret die Frauen! sie flechten und weben
Himmlische Rosen in's irdische Leben—

or his "Song of the Bell," in which the true wife and mother is depicted at the side of the hard-striving husband, in noblest terms which have become household words in the Fatherland?

Did Schiller mean by these pictures of domestic bliss to shut out women from the larger concerns of patriotic aspirations and from care for the cause of freedom as against tyranny? Let anyone who has a doubt on the point read Schiller's grand drama, *Wilhelm Tell.* There, Gertrude, the wife of Stauffacher, is most prominent as urging on the men to rise against oppression. She, before all, gives counsel, both wise and courageous, to her own husband, quite in the style of German women of Tacitus' time. In the same powerful drama, the peasant women are drawn in similar traits of love for popular freedom; refusing, as they do, to bow before the hat which Gessler has had planted on a pole as the sign of his autocratic rule.

Whilst I am writing this, there comes news of a speech of Prince Bismarck, in which he alleges that fifty years ago no German woman busied herself with national affairs, but that now the times are changed for the better! The ex-Chancellor has for years made many speeches in the most contradictory sense. On this occasion he simply forgot the enthusiastic conduct of a mass of German women in the War of Deliverance against Napoleon I., and the sacrifices made by them for patriotic objects. He forgot, or he purposely ignored, the fact of the hearts of vast numbers of German women having been in the cause of national freedom and union during the forties, and the ardent sympathy

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they showed with the champions of liberty in 1848–49, as well as the risks and sufferings, in the way of persecution and imprisonment, which some of them underwent in those years of storm and stress.

To be, not "platform mothers," but good housewives, and at the same time to take a deep interest in all that is good and noble in literature and art; to make a happy home, to bring up children with fond care, and also to think of, and so far as the difference of sex allows, to act for the public weal of their country and for the intellectual, moral, and social progress of humanity at large; such in the opinion of the best among us, be they men or women, is the ideal German wife.

KARL BLIND.

THE SCANDINAVIAN WIFE.

AT a time when all ideals are rapidly changing it is difficult to furnish even an approximate description which will not be challenged. The kind of ideal wife of whom Norse youths dreamed twenty years ago, whom the poets sang and the painters painted, is now reported to be in the process of extinction; and the new species of femininity which is said to be taking her place would feel insulted by being associated with the term ideal. A Norwegian young lady of good family, who some years ago was a guest in my house, could see nothing improper in exploring the Bowery and Hester Street by night in the company of a male and a female friend, and when I meekly objected to her striking up an acquaintance with gentlemen in Central Park of a Sunday she laughed in my face and told me *sans cérémonie* that I was an old fogy. My ideas of propriety she intimated were moss-grown, antedeluvian, and smacked of the ancient period of bondage which, happily, was now at an end.

During a recent visit to Norway I discovered that this type of woman, so far from being exceptional, is exceedingly common. She certainly occupies the front of the stage, is all-pervasive and ubiquitous. During the summer you meet her on the public highways, with her knapsack on her back, on foot or on a bicycle, attended or unattended, snapping her finger in the face of all old-fashioned notions of decorum. I cannot conceive what kind of wife she would make, because I cannot conceive of the kind of man who would have the audacity to marry her. And yet she

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

does not infrequently marry. I cannot help suspecting that she must, in such a case, have exercised the right, which she claims, of choosing, instead of waiting to be chosen; and the poor man, in his embarrassment, has evidently lacked the courage to exercise his right of refusing, instead of waiting to be refused.

Now, I do not claim, of course, that this "virago of the brain," this representative of "the third sex" (to quote Mr. Le Galienne), is the ideal woman of Scandinavia, still less that she would make an ideal wife. But she has, for all that, to be taken into account, because she is, by her presence and her noisy propaganda, visibly modifying the old ideal of Scandinavian wifehood and womanhood.

In my student days we used to sing with immense enthusiasm the song, "The Women of the North," which among other exploded commonplaces, declared that "the lily resembles the bride of thy heart, the fair, Northern maiden"; and that "she stands unaltered, exhaling her coy fragrance; she is the blossom of blossoms." Though this standard comparison with the lily has been repudiated as misleading and uncomplimentary, it has not yet lost and never can quite lose its application. For the qualities which the man demands the woman is bound to supply, or feign their possession, under penalty of celibacy. And Scandinavian man does not differ essentially from the male of other civilized races in demanding of his wife all the standard copybook virtues. He looks to her primarily to uphold the dignity of his house; to give, by her presence and manner, a certain *éclat* to his hospitality; to make his domestic machinery run as smoothly, noiselessly, and economically as circumstances will permit. He associates with his vision of her a certain sweet matronliness which grows more pronounced with the years, as the children gather about her knees. Though the girl be ever so coy and submissive to her lover's wishes, he knows that it is in the nature of things for the young wife to develop, through the experiences of wifehood and motherhood, a personality which must not only win love, but also command respect. As his true comrade and faithful friend she stands at his side, shares his burden, and bears with him the brunt of the hard battle of life.

When I look back through the long gallery of noble Scandinavian women whose portraits my memory retains, the embarrassment of riches makes me loath to choose. One, however, whose

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

beautiful personality spread a quiet radiance about her simple life, I may, without invidious comparisons, select as fairly representative, and the man of whose home she was the bright and shining focus would have been the first to claim for her every ideal perfection. It has always been a marvel to me how this mother of six children, every one of whom claimed her attention and care, could yet preside with a calm and gentle dignity at the great dinners which her husband's position compelled him to give, superintend a large household, over every minutest detail of which she kept supervision; and yet preserve, amid innumerable harassments, which would have driven a man to distraction, a benign, unruffled amiability, and an unfailing helpfulness which ever gave and gave, without thought of demanding anything in return. From the early morn to the dewy eve she was in ceaseless activity; never breathless and hurried, but always quietly ministering to the wants of the many whose welfare was in a hundred ways dependent upon her foresight, sagacity and tender solicitude. At seven o'clock in the morning she presided at the breakfast table pouring the hot tea for boys, while snowdrift and darkness lay thick upon the window-panes; and I can yet see her benign, somewhat worn face in the lamplight over the large copper tea-kettle. Then she would remind them of their books so that nothing was forgotten, wrap them up warmly in their scarfs and overcoats, kiss each one good-bye with a dear little maternal admonition on the way; then get papa's breakfast, which came later, and listen sympathetically to his grumbling about the ever increasing expenses, calm his occasional irritability, invent ingeniously maternal excuses for Finn's low averages, Bertha's hoydenish behavior, Olaf's habit of tearing his clothes, etc. There was balm in her words, healing in her touch, solace in the very cadence of her voice. Though she left no record behind her, except in the hearts of her sons and daughters, who mourned her early loss, I cannot conceive of a nobler life than hers, nor one dispensing a richer blessing.

HJALMAR HJORTH BOYESEN.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FUTURE OF THE ARID WEST.

BY THE HON. EDMUND G. ROSS, EX-GOVERNOR OF NEW MEXICO.

LESS than forty years ago and within the memory of men and women not yet old, there was a rush from the northern and eastern states to the West. It was unlike the steady westward migration that had from the beginning of the century been a conpicuous American habit. It was an organized and suddenly conceived movement of people who turned to the West with a definite and determined purpose. I refer to the famous "Kansas movement." Immediately prior to this movement, and in direct connection with it, a very similar movement had been made from the states of the Southwest, notably from the counties of western Missouri. Both crusades were caused by the repeal by Congress of the Missouri Compromise, which up to that time had restricted slavery to the longitudinal line of western Missouri. By that repeal all the country lying west of that line, from the Missouri to and including the Rocky Mountain region, had been opened to negro slavery.

The first crusaders on both sides went armed and eagerly intent on reaching, in the least possible time, the country in dispute. The largely superior numerical force pouring in from the North, in due season assured the success of the Free State cause, soon filled that country, took possession of its most available portions, and drew much of the succeeding migration to the middle and western plains. But it was found after extensive improvements had been made there—farms established and towns built—that the rain-fall was insufficient and could not be depended upon for agricultural pursuits. Though in occasional years it was abundant and bountiful crops were realized, it could not be depended on, as one good crop was liable to be followed by two or three seasons of drought, and more or less absolute crop

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

failure. This continuing for several years, the settlers in the end became discouraged and many of them abandoned the country, going still further west, not a few to New Mexico. Later, irrigation was resorted to and in the vicinity of enduring streams proved successful. Away from these, however, the expense was great and the returns meagre and discouraging, few localities being of sufficient elevation or possessing the necessary facilities for the storage of water. This was the first signal proof that had till then been afforded of the existence of a semi-arid region, beginning at about the one hundredth degree of longitude and extending indefinitely westward, in which successful agriculture was impossible without irrigation. Much of that region has since been thus redeemed, and doubtless much more will be redeemed in the same way; but it will be most expensive and the prospective cost of its redemption, coupled with the rapid and constant increase in our population, accentuates the necessity for devising more simple and effective methods of irrigation than are now generally practiced or known in the region of the plains.

Large numbers of those who were early forced to abandon the plains of central and western Kansas pushed on into the mountains of the West, very many of them into New Mexico, as I have said. There they came in contact with a civilization antedating by centuries that which they had left. In all the principal valleys they found adequate irrigation works, and abundant and unfailing crops. Though it had been settled for hundreds of years, the region was to these immigrants a new world. The cultivation of land by artificial irrigation has long been practised by the native people of New Mexico, who originally brought the system from Mexico and Spain, but it is still novel to a very large portion of the people of the United States. It has always been, as it is now, carried on by them in the most primitive ways and has developed almost perfect exactness in that form of engineering. A native New Mexican needs no instrument for the securing of levels in locating or laying out an irrigation ditch. Given a known quantity of water supply, he can with his practised eye, by simply walking over the ground, as exactly determine the course required to insure a uniform flow of water at any desired force, and far more quickly, than can the trained engineer with the most perfect instruments. This skill has become a part

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of his nature and in a country which must depend upon artificial irrigation for its food product it is a most useful acquirement.

But irrigation in that country and among the native people is confined mainly to the river valleys, few going outside the larger ones for settlement, and as a consequence there are large areas in the valleys of the smaller streams, on the mesas adjacent to arroyos and in the mountains that are practically unsettled and undeveloped. These arroyos, lying as a rule at the foot of mountains and between elevations, could in very many localities be converted into catchment basins for the storage of water, and thus made the basis of a supply to a considerable portion of the territory, at a cost small in comparison to the acreage that could be thus redeemed.

Since the tide of migration turned actively to the western States and Territories lying in what is known as the arid region, especially in the neighborhood of the Rocky Mountains, the subject of irrigation has come to be one of the first importance, as successful cultivation has there been found impossible by the usual methods applicable to the older settlements of the country east of the line of aridity. Various methods have been applied to the solution of the problem during the last three decades, the most general and conspicuous being through the agency of great corporations based on land appropriations and stock companies absorbing great areas of the public domain. No more productive soils are to be found anywhere than on large portions of the great treeless, waterless plains and mountain valleys of what is known as the arid regions. Water alone is needed to make their cultivation most profitable. In many localities, notably in California, the problem has been solved, but only at points more or less directly in proximity to large running streams. But there are yet in New Mexico, and all the mountain region, and even in California, very large areas not accessible to supply from adequate, enduring streams, and therefore not favorable to tillage by the California plan.

The clamor for the appropriation of public money for the establishment of irrigation has had its day, and it is full time that the appropriation of the public lands for the same purpose should also cease. The government has no constitutional power to devote the money or the lands of the public to local or private benefit, and it ought not to have any such power. The idea was an

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

offshoot of paternalism, and bound, if once generally entered upon, to result in irreparable mischief of a political character, and of damage to other economic callings. Its origin lies in the mistaken doctrine, which now and then crops out in times of commercial and financial depression, that it is the duty of the government to take care of the people, instead of the opposite and correct political axiom, that it is at all times and under all conditions the duty of the people to take care of the government, and of themselves also—to guard and protect it, and to see that the agents entrusted with its administration do not fall short of the duties or go beyond the limits of their trust and make of themselves the government, the rulers, instead of the agents, of the people. One great hindrance to the successful and general institution of irrigation in localities where it is needed and practicable, is the constant and noisy plea that it can be best secured only through great capitalized corporations based on large landed donations from the government. No greater or more insidious danger now threatens the local, financial, economic, and political interests of the West. It is a political, and in a large sense an economic axiom, that they who own the lands of a country will make its laws and govern it; and there is consequently no more effective method for the strengthening and perpetuation of our popular forms than legislation that encourages the distribution of lands among, and their ownership by, the people who occupy them.

By reason chiefly of the pernicious fallacy just mentioned, how the regions under discussion may be watered and thereby reduced to successful popular cultivation and settlement, still remains an unsolved problem. In the more northerly sections the snow and rainfall reduce the difficulty of solution, but in New Mexico and Arizona, especially, the conditions are essentially different and the problem presented a much more difficult one. In these territories the Rocky Mountains gradually diminish in altitude and abruptness, till they fall away and end in great mesas or elevated plateaus along the Mexican border, arid and hot in summer, and which, though abounding in the elements of fertility, remain for lack of water as barren as Sahara. There are rain-falls and occasionally snow in winter, but so seldom and so slight, as a rule, that the arid atmosphere soon dissipates the most that falls, and their moisture is gone. There are a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

number of streams, such as the Rio Grande and the Pecos in New Mexico and the Gila, the Salt and others in Arizona, reinforced by a considerable number of smaller ones, with the usual affluents, which, fed by the melting snows from the north, often run bank full in the later weeks of winter and early spring, and also for some days after the brief mid-summer rains; but their volume soon diminishes, and in the months when their waters are most needed for the growing crops their flow is slackened, while not infrequently at the still later season for irrigation the farmer finds himself without water, especially in the more southerly sections, below the localities of supply in the north.

For these reasons, in the greater portion of the mountain districts, any general, coherent or connected system of irrigation is impossible; but limited, detached and independent irrigation is practicable everywhere, though, of course, in very limited localities, as in the more elevated mountain areas, where irrigation is possible only in crude ways. It is only on the plains and in the larger valleys that extensive irrigation works can be made applicable or large investments of capital profitable. In other and smaller isolated mountain areas, the methods of storage, distribution and application, must vary according to the configuration of the land, and be confined to limited districts, the rugged nature of the mountains rendering impossible any general system of conserving or distributing the waters or the snow fall. This must be done by the construction of isolated catchment basins in the arroyos and depressions that abound throughout the mountains, from which the water can be distributed to the larger valleys and plateaus lower down. The varying altitude of the sections in which water storage and cultivation can be made profitable is from 3,000 to 8,000 feet, and the clear, dry, bracing atmosphere is charged with health-giving properties. At all seasons of the year, save perhaps in the higher altitudes, it is a positive luxury to be out in the open air, summer and winter. Abounding in all the elements conducive to health, comfort and longevity, it is fitted in a pronounced degree for the home of prosperous communities. In the presence of all these prime concomitants to the comforts of life, it cannot be possible that these regions are condemned to perpetual barrenness and isolation. Nature makes no mistakes and creates nothing in vain. It cannot be that those beautiful, healthful plains and mountains can never be redeemed

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from their condition of sterility and converted into comfortable homes. They have the necessary constituents of fertility, though dormant, the grandest of scenery and the most delightful of climates.

It is true that every age must wrestle with and settle, if possible, its own problems, and it is especially true that every generation owes something to those who are to succeed it, as well as to itself. Without a due observance of that obligation there would be little if any progress. Without constant endeavor for the betterment of conditions, there would be no progress and no purpose in life but a brutish momentary satisfaction. The redemption of the earth to the satisfaction of human needs and the promotion of human happiness is therefore among the highest duties of men, and the command of nature to essay its redemption falls with equal force on every succeeding generation. The solution of this problem of irrigation has fallen to this age, and should be settled now, or, at least, put in the way of settlement, for the welfare of this generation as well as of those which are to follow. With a large proportion of the lands of the country now available for settlement held by great corporations and private syndicates, or otherwise for speculative purposes, and our landless poor flocking to the cities or eking out a laborious existence on rented farms, we have reached the open door of an European condition of landlordism and tenantry, under which the class not long since distinctively known as the "American farmer" must soon become extinct. There is no condition, as already stated, so calculated to inspire love of country and loyalty to law, or so conducive to public order, as ownership of the home, be it in city or country, though this influence is most quickly and deeply felt in the rural districts. Therefore, no country can be truly prosperous or long remain the home of freemen, whose producing population is forced to live on rented farms; or even where the great mass of its laboring urban population is forced by the excessive values of realty to a condition of tenantry. There can be no condition like independent freeholding—home owning—especially by laboring people, for the stimulation of love of home and country; and no other American environment has been so productive as the farm of useful public men, who in the past hundred years have left their impress for good upon the history and institutions of their country and the world.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But we are swerving from the beneficent policy that was long so distinctive a feature of our history; and it is time to return before we become a nation governed by an aristocracy of landowners, of landlords and tenants, afflicted by all the evils such conditions bring in their wake.

To those who have noted the tendency of the time during the last half century, this will not seem an overdrawn picture of the danger that has come to threaten our basic industry, and through it the welfare of the country. Most of the great fortunes of the time, individual and corporate, have been accumulated through vast landholdings and speculation in land, secured largely through governmental benefactions to corporations, and the otherwise mischievous administration of ill-considered public land laws. On the other hand, mistaken economic legislation to the discouragement of agriculture and cognate pursuits, has driven to the cities large numbers of the people of the country, to live by varying shifts and uncertain employment, till the cities are filled with a population for which there is little room and less work. It is true that wise and beneficent laws have decreed the right of free homestead and pre-emption to settlers on the public domain, but on the other hand the Congress has thrown away vast empires in area of the public lands to capitalized corporations, and its auction sales have made the public domain a basis of enormous private speculation, while its invitation to settlement and development has been robbed of its effect by the enactment of tariff laws, which create great centres of manufacture and commerce and thus lure the people from the country to the cities. Our beneficent land laws have thus been rendered comparatively of little avail for the purposes of homestead and development, but great cities of princes and beggars have been built up, while the public lands in large degree have been absorbed for purposes of speculation, and still remain the same wilderness of desolation they were at the beginning. There has been little development, very little in comparison to what there should and might have been, on the public domain of the West in the last two decades.

The policy of spoliation indicated has been continued till extension and growth in the West are practically at a standstill, certainly so in comparison with its earlier record. Settlement has reached the limit of production without artificial appliances,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and the great cities of the East have reached the point of congestion from over-crowded populations demanding employment. Prudent fiscal legislation can do much for the betterment of these conditions, but that alone can bring only partial and temporary relief. There would be little philosophy or coherence in any plan therefor that did not contemplate the restoration of the remaining areas of the public domain to settlement and production, and the re-establishment of the movement to its unoccupied portions. But a small proportion of the vast acreage that still remains is impossible of reclamation. It is true that in large portions of the mountain States and Territories a coherent system of irrigation is impossible, but limited, local, independent irrigation is not only possible, but feasible and practicable everywhere, from the great valleys to the timber line, and at less cost to the occupant, proportionately, than by any of the great schemes of irrigation now in operation in the most favored regions.

The greatest hindrance to the institution of successful irrigation is the idea somewhat prevalent that it can be accomplished only through the medium of great capitalized corporations, based on speculative land holding and land absorption. But the public faith in and demand for such methods are passing away. It is found that not only do they fail to meet the demands for homes for the people, for whom the public lands were originally and wisely set aside, but, on the contrary, that such diversion of them is destructive of that purpose. It is coming again to be recognized that the public domain exists primarily for the benefit of those who seek it for homestead purposes solely, and not as an instrumentality for spoliation by the public or the individual, but for the establishment of American homes; and it is to be hoped that not another acre will ever be diverted to any other purpose.

There are no more productive soils on earth, given water, than those of the great plains and mountain valleys of New Mexico. The equability and healthfulness of its climate is unequalled, varying in latitude and altitude to suit all tastes and physical temperaments and conditions. The only question in the matter of its successful irrigation is the water supply. The present visible supply is manifestly insufficient. How it may be permanently increased during the season of planting and growth is a serious question. In view of the capabilities of that country for the maintenance of a population sufficient to give it economic and po-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

litical consequence, and of the demand of an increasing population for homes, the question of its reclamation becomes one of mighty import and worthy of profound consideration. A land so fair, so replete with all the elements of healthfulness and vitality, should not be permitted to lie inert and waste, if human ingenuity can compass the stimulation of its wonderful, but undeveloped, energies. The utility of irrigation for the cultivation of the earth has been so fully established by successful experiment that its discussion here would be out of place. That phase of the question has passed into the realm of established fact. It is no longer in dispute. The problem now is, how best to apply it under the varying conditions of localities. It is not a question of fact, but of methods of application, and of the forms of its administration with a view to the best possible results.

Next in importance to the reclamation of land for the production of food stuffs and its preparation for homes for the people, is the prevention, as far as possible, of its absorption by capitalists for speculative purposes. Any measure that left the arid lands open to such absorption would defeat the first and most important purpose of their reclamation. In the case of New Mexico, with whose needs I am most familiar, I would make the institution of a system of irrigation a condition precedent to admission to statehood, as without the reclamation of its arid lands there would be little value in statehood. New Mexico has remained in its original territorial condition for nearly fifty years, and it is in many respects practically in nearly the same economic condition as at the time of its acquisition from Mexico —a mere satrapy of no consequence politically, and of very little in any other respect. There is no good reason for the longer continuance of this condition, but it will continue so long as her lands remain impossible of development. Admission to statehood will not of itself attract people or capital, or materially or permanently change existing conditions; but statehood in connection with irrigation will.

Nor is it the duty or the province, even, of the United States to assume the work of irrigation and reclamation there; but it is to a degree the duty of the federal government to permit the territory to assume the discharge of that duty in any legitimate and proper way that affords reasonable promise of good results. The public lands of New Mexico, the larger part of which will

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

forever remain valueless, I am convinced after long and careful study of the subject at first hand, afford a legitimate and fruitful resource for the accomplishment of the work of their own reclamation, and I am also confident that the work can be accomplished through that resource practically without expense to the Territory or the general government, establishing at the same time a basis for successful statehood, with the assurance of an early and material increase of population for its maintenance.

The plan I have in mind is simple and easily understood, and could also be readily applied to the other mountain communities of the arid West. Let Congress enact that at a given time, say two years from the date of enactment, a convention shall be held for the preparation of a constitution for the new State. Fix the time for the popular vote of the territory on that proposed constitution at not less than a year subsequent to the promulgation of that act, and arrange that upon the approval of that constitution by Congress and the President the act of admission shall be complete. The act of Congress authorizing a constitution should also provide that upon the admission of New Mexico to the Union as a State, the Territory shall be at once vested with the title to all public lands therein at the date of that act, on condition that it shall within a reasonable time, to be fixed by Congress, commence the work of reclamation by irrigation, authority having been given it to borrow specified sums of money from time to time therefor, and also on condition that as such lands are satisfactorily reclaimed they shall be sold to actual occupants only, at the actual cost of reclamation and in tracts of not more than forty acres to each actual settler. The capacity of the lands of New Mexico for production has been fully tested through several generations, but that capacity has not been developed to any general extent because of the inadequacy of private enterprise to such a work, and because they belong to a general government that has no constitutional right or power to engage in internal improvements. It is folly to ask the general government to expend the public revenues for the benefit of a locality. These arid lands never have been and never can become a source of revenue in the hands of the government. The state, however, by the plan suggested, can reclaim and develop them if permitted to do so, fit them for prosperous homes for tens of thousands of the now landless, homeless people of the country, and make them a source

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of revenue, without the cost of one dollar to the government. I believe that the state, thus endowed, will find little difficulty in procuring the necessary means to enable it, by a judicious administration of the trust, to fit for cultivation every reclaimable acre within its boundaries in a reasonable time, and locate a farmer on every one of its forty-acre tracts.

When wisely undertaken, adequate irrigation can be secured at a comparatively small cost per acre. The futility of damming the streams of New Mexico for the purpose of conserving water for irrigation is shown by the fact that almost every dam thus far constructed has been destroyed by flood, to the loss of life and vast amounts of property values in addition to that of the works destroyed; and even were it possible to construct a permanent dam in these streams, the basin thus created would soon fill up with the sand and sediment carried down from the mountains in every flood, and the waters thereby forced out and over adjoining farms to their fatal injury. But as to the most economical and effective method of conserving water for irrigation, the native people of New Mexico have, fortunately, set an object lesson which, strange to say, has been generally overlooked in the elaboration of irrigation theories. All that is needed is to adopt and improve upon their method, which is not by damming but simply placing an obstruction in the stream, so as to divide the current and divert the desired proportion of its waters into a previously constructed acequia, or irrigating canal. By this canal the water is carried across and distributed over the fields under cultivation. The system thus suggested is admirable in its simplicity. Taking the Mexican acequia as a basis, there should be built in the centre of the stream from which water for irrigation is to be taken, a pier high enough to divert a portion of the flood or surplus waters into a lateral canal commencing at the pier, and thence conducted into a reservoir at some point in the foothills lower down the stream and of sufficient elevation to irrigate the lands between it and the stream. This operation should be repeated at different points along the stream as often as the needs of cultivation may require and the topography of the valley will permit—the surplus waters that flow down all the streams and arroyos in torrents from one to three times every year, being stowed away and held for distribution when needed by the growing crops. There is not a running

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stream or arroyo whose flood waters cannot be thus impounded, and held as reserve for irrigation at times when most needed, during which all the watercourses are as a rule too dry or too low for the purpose.

Aside from the direct aid to agriculture thus afforded, another very great benefaction to the country will be secured in the prevention of the disastrous floods that every year sweep down all those valleys, washing out farms and sometimes destroying entire villages. By this plan, and at desired intervals, the surplus waters for storage being drawn off, the volume and force of the highest floods that ever visit that country will soon have become so diminished and slackened in their flow as to render serious damage therefrom impossible.

It is a serious question whether admission to statehood under present conditions, even if possible by a vote of the people, so far from being advantageous to New Mexico, would not, on the contrary, become an absolute and permanent detriment—whether the desired immigration and development which this proposition is designed to invite and stimulate would not be repelled, and thus the condition of the people of the new state, instead of being bettered by the change, become actually worse than before, by the establishment in political control of an element of retrogression. This result has happened in the haste to make new States, and the intelligent, progressive people of New Mexico do not desire that their own territory shall constitute such an example. The value of statehood would be incalculably increased by the cession of lands to the new State, the aggregate wealth of the country correspondingly magnified, and the opportunity for the acquirement of homes, independent American homes, by tens of thousands, would be opened to the landless people of the entire country. Three inter-state conventions have been held in the last few years for the purpose of consultation on this important topic and a fourth has just been held at Albuquerque.

It may be objected that the plan I have outlined would be subject to abuse. Is it possible to suggest any effective plan for this purpose that would not be open to the same criticism? Yet it cannot be denied that the opportunities for wilful misdirection of the public domain would thus be reduced to the minimum. As a rule, actual settlers only would become possessed

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the lands, and that of itself would be a great gain. As a rule, too, very considerable areas would be rendered tillable which are not at all likely to be so improved in the absence of any similar provision by the government, and that would be another great gain; and all done at a small cost to the settler, in comparison with the value to him of the land so redeemed and at no cost in the end to the State or the United States. Of the more than sixty million acres of public land in New Mexico, at least half could be made subject to successful cultivation, adding correspondingly to the tillable area and to the wealth of the world, and affording comfortable homes, in addition to its present population, for a quarter of a million of producing people.

At the rate at which the public lands of the West have been absorbed for speculative purposes by capitalized corporations, the next generation will see the great central West barred against the tide of homeseekers which marked and glorified the history of the past generation. It is time to call a halt before the available area of the public domain shall have been absorbed by speculative capital and closed against that great class for whose benefit as homesteads it was primarily set apart. The man who owns his homestead has a pecuniary as well as a sentimental interest in the conduct and stability of the government that protects him in his right to that home. There is no condition so conducive to loyalty to law and to public order as the ownership of the home. He who owns the roof that shelters him has something at stake, the security and value of which is dissipated in the presence of public disorder. The security, the permanency and the efficacy of popular government have no more earnest champion than the man over whom the flag of his country waves as a symbol and guarantee to him of protection in his home.

EDMUND G. ROSS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ENGLISH WOMEN IN POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS.

BY LADY JEUNE.

WHEN the Primrose League was started in 1881 and 1882 under the aegis of the late Lord Randolph Churchill and Sir Henry Drummond Wolf, it was the fashion to laugh at the little yellow badge of flowers, which was said to be beloved by one whom many regard as the greatest leader in the history of English political strife. The question as to whether Lord Beaconsfield really loved the primrose is still an open one, but the sunny woods at Hughenden are full of them, and the flower was eagerly seized on by the longsighted organizers of the League as a symbol which might do a mighty work.

The idea "caught on" in the imagination of Englishwomen, and being adopted by all ranks, it brought into a more friendly and close compact the women of the upper and middle classes who, whatever may be the political opinion of their lords and masters, are thoroughly conservative. The League is now fourteen years old. It has had the experience of some elections and its power is enormous. In 1881 the members of the Primrose League were a few hundreds, in 1894 they were 1,259,808. This organization is spread all over the country, in radical Scotland and Wales, and the modest flower has even ventured to plant its roots in the Emerald Isle, and it may fairly claim now to have attained an age when its influence can be felt. The Radical party and press have always professed the greatest scorn and contempt for the Primrose League, looking on it as a base and designing organization, which by means of social temptations is sapping the honest political convictions of Englishwomen. That the wife of a doctor or clergyman should be able to withstand the seductions of a wily Conservative duchess is a possible contingency, but that the honest farmer's or tradesman's wife should fall is inevi-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

table, and so the friendly gatherings and garden parties, the new amenities which have helped so largely to brighten the lives of people living all year round in the country are regarded as the political serpent which has crept into the garden of Eden and is corrupting the honesty and simplicity of our English Arcadia.

The Radicals have, however, the wit to see that such an organization is invaluable and many have been the attempts on their side to inaugurate a like work, but all their efforts have been unavailing. But the lesson of their unsuccessful imitation is not thrown away on their opponents, who in that form of flattery find great encouragement. Perhaps nowhere have their failures been more distinctly grotesque than in Scotland, where the Primrose League itself had a chequered childhood, but where the blandishments of any such like Liberal organization failed to touch the hearts or imaginations of the sons of the Gael.

The Primrose League during the last election sent out an army of women workers, canvassers and clerks, besides those who spoke at meetings; and the report which deals largely with the work done during the last election and the direction in which members were most successful ought to fill their hearts with unbounded pride. The success which attended their efforts seems to have borne rapid fruit if the one fact only is considered, namely, that they added no less than 5,613 members to the League in July, and there is little doubt that the Primrose League dames contributed largely to the success of the Conservative party.

The income of the League shows a large increase this year, and where a supreme effort is needed there is no lack of willing hands and well-filled purses which respond to the appeal. It is curious, after recounting the experience of the work of women connected with the Primrose League, to find a very clearly expressed opinion that, while their work is excellent in many ways, it is in the smaller and less important matters appertaining to politics that they are useful. One must in fairness admit that any strongly expressed opinion adverse to them comes from the Liberal side, who view the Primrose League as the offspring of the evil one, but both parties seem agreed that women who speak in public at election time do not have anything like the power and influence that the quieter and more unobtrusive canvasser has, who is willing to turn her hand to any work that is wanted,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from directing covers to bringing the always weary and often drunken voter to the poll.

It would be invidious to point out exceptions, but I should think the women whose work certainly helped their husbands into Parliament did it during the long months before the election, and that it was by personal acquaintance and canvassing that they won the hearts of the electors, and not by any great oratorical display. There is something repugnant to the ordinary Englishman in the idea of a woman mounting a platform and facing the noisy, gaping, vulgar crowd of an election meeting. The smell of smoke, the ribald jokes, the coarse comments, the rough give-and-take of an election are not circumstances in which women either appear to advantage or are appreciated, and the testimony of members of Parliament on both sides agrees on this point.

An English weekly journal, *The Gentlewoman*, sent a formal letter to every M. P. asking him his opinion on this question and some of the answers are very amusing. They are curious, taking them at random, and it may not be out of place to quote a few. Lord Valentia says: "I can only speak for my own constituency, and have no hesitation in saying that the aid contributed by ladies both in clerical work and canvassing has been of the greatest possible value. . . ." Another M. P. says: "The ladies gave me great help; on the other hand my opponent's wife was of great value to her husband by her clever and lively speeches. . . ." One says: "My wife was my best canvasser." The member for Rotherhithe says: "Ladies have succeeded as canvassers in many places where men have failed, finding it most interesting work and as exciting as bicycling." The evidence as to their utility in clerical work, their willingness and their perseverance in bringing up voters, is endless. There are a few M. P.s, however, who are more outspoken than gallant. "I consider I owe my success in a great measure to the ladies who worked for me. . . . I think ladies can do a great deal privately, but I am not in favor of their speaking in public," is the opinion of one M. P. Another says: "Personally I am convinced that the less women have to do with politics, either in public speaking or canvassing, the better." One M. P. is both ungrateful and brutal, and writes: "I had no help from women, whatever, nor would I ask any woman to do anything in the political contests; they have no sense of judicial fairness and will

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

attempt to carry out practices which if they were known would lead to persecution under the Bribery and Corruption Act. The rule of women's political associations is in nine cases out of ten, bribery, corruption, undue influence or threatening in some form or other. I have heard a Conservative Primrose dame deplore the existence of the ballot which prevented her from knowing whether her bribes gained her votes." Sir Frederick Milner bears testimony to the help he received in clerical and departmental work, adding that he "found Separatist women more fond of talking than Unionists."

The *Primrose League Gazette* is brimful of acknowledgments from candidates of the great service the ladies of the Primrose League rendered to them. We may, no doubt, discount some of their enthusiasm and gratitude, but that the women worked hard and zealously is a fact, and a great deal of the Conservative success is owing to their enthusiasm.

While the chorus of praise is nearly unanimous, there are great differences of opinion as to the reasons for the success, and there is a very universal consensus of opinion that the value of women's work lies in the humbler and more mechanical parts of an election. If we analyze the different answers, we find that in clerical work, such as directing envelopes and leaflets, in personal canvassing, and on election days in bringing up recalcitrant, rambling or distant voters, women were supremely useful. It may be the long rooted distrust and jealousy with which men have viewed the gradual rise of the weaker sex that have caused them to indicate the less glorious part of the fray as women's part, but it is a fact that, while sternly deprecating their speaking in public, and abstaining carefully from admitting that their softer or more persuasive manners had greater weight than formerly, nearly every M. P. has given his evidence to the help women render in a political campaign in England. Even Mr. Chamberlain, the sternest opponent of women's rights, has spoken most enthusiastically as to the help the Unionist cause received from them. But apart from the widespread influence so large an organization as the Primrose League must exercise, there are many reasons why women should be very useful in political strife. They are untiring in their enthusiasm, and their resolute belief in the cause they advocate insensibly encourages and impresses those they work with. They are willing to do any work that is given them, and as so few

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of them have any oratorical capacity they are saved from the most prominent of female weaknesses, namely, jealousy of those who have. They have no real shyness in canvassing or in approaching the voter, however rough he may be. As a rule he is civil to women even in his cups, but no one can deny the great increase of drunkenness in many parts during an election day.

The work of an active canvasser is really very entertaining, for she comes into contact with people and phases of life which are very original. In England the mode of procedure is a first canvass of the constituency, so as to feel the pulse of the constituency and see in what direction the political current is flowing. Each ward has its allotted canvassers, and they have either to see each elector personally or to acquaint themselves with his intentions. After the first canvass is over, which is necessarily a very incomplete one, a second is undertaken, which throws more light on the situation and leaves only the doubtful, the absent and the distant elector to be accounted for. Besides the ordinary canvassers of the stronger sex a large number of women are employed, who volunteer their services and who are of course unpaid, and they are nearly always the last and most potent influence that can be brought to bear on the being whose vote may be of such vital importance. In each ward political feeling varies; some are "all right," *i. e.* Conservative, others "very unsatisfactory" or nearly all "blue," probably the Radical color. The latter are the ones to be tackled, and upon them all the batteries of Conservative female persuasion have to be directed.

In London there are only two hours in the day during which the lord and master of the house is to be found at home, at dinner time, between one and two, or after eight o'clock. Dinner is not the best time to solicit his suffrage; his time is short, he is hot and tired, anxious not to be late at his work and does not want to "jaw" with anyone. In such cases the wife has to be approached, and nothing can describe the discretion of the English voter's wife. "I know nothing about my husband; he does not tell me how he votes; I have enough to think of without votes, and don't care. What good will it do me or the children? You can leave your card, and there's a lot more cards come. I'll mention it to him when he comes back."

The electoral literature is a very wonderful development in England; for, besides all the information in the shape of leaflets,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

etc., which are laid at the elector's feet, there are magnificent portraits of the rival candidates, and cartoons of the wildest and most distracting description, by means of which artistic efforts it is hoped some impression may be given of the misgovernment and incompetency of the existing administration. These offerings are received in the most impartial spirit, and at one London election an enthusiastic canvasser was horrified to find the windows and walls of a most important supporter smothered with bills, pictures and cartoons casting obloquy on his party; and he was only relieved from the terrible suspicion of apostasy on being informed by the eldest daughter of the family that they had put them there "cos they was much the most beautiful of the two sides, Mr. —— being that ugly mother would not have pictures of him in the house."

A large number of the poorer electors know very little and care still less about the larger questions of home and imperial policy, and local matters in country districts often turned the scale one way or another. Shorter hours, better pay, foreign immigration, were the questions about which the wives seemed to care most, the larger and broader questions being algebra to them. The women were always courteous, with one or two exceptions, but when a certain canvasser had exhausted all her persuasions and was sternly asked "Are you married?" and replied in the affirmative, she was brusquely told to go home and look after her husband and children. Such amenities, however, were rare, and in most cases the workmen's wives were quite polite. A canvasser I knew encountered a maid in a small family, no member of which on numerous visits was ever at home, and at last, being wearied out by repeated questions on answering the door the maid said: "There is no use for you to come again; master's out and wont see anyone. I don't know how he'll vote: all I know is that we always lights the fire with the *Daily News*."

In canvassing it was found a very useful help to leave a card on the electors with the name and address of the canvasser, and if it was a well-known person or a local celebrity, it had some effect and was put in an exposed position, so that the less favored neighbors might realize what they had foregone by their political opinions. Local people had more weight than strangers unless, as I say, it might be some person of distinction or rank or a very pretty woman. Pretty women still retain their potency,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

though I know of no renewal of practices such as were carried out with singular success by a beautiful duchess.

The influence of the Church in London was unmistakable, and those whose names were known to the electors as working through that medium had great power. One lady who had worked in a very poor constituency in East London and had been the medium of a great amount of help given to the women and children for some years, told a very characteristic story of how she visited two or three families in one of the large industrial dwellings for the poor and was refused a hearing. She asked permission merely to leave the candidate's card and one of her own, and took her departure to go higher up in the same block where she received the same answer: "My husband is going to vote for Mr. ———, so there is no use your coming here." On her return next day to finish her canvass she was waylaid on the stairs by one of the most vehement of her opponents of the day before, who said: "We was not aware yesterday 'oo you was, and I've been speaking to my 'usband and 'e says 'e don't mind 'ow he votes as you was very good to the children," and without solicitation on her part, as she went upstairs, her other opponent of the day before assured her of her husband's indifference as to what *he* did with *his* vote.

This story does not say much for the stolid, honest, political working man in London, but it teaches one a very important lesson which would-be legislators may take to heart; namely, that anyone who desires to get into Parliament should seek a poor metropolitan constituency, and if he devotes his time and what money he can legitimately spend towards making personal acquaintance with his constituents, and endeavoring to beautify and improve the lives and conditions under which they and their children live, he may make his success assured and his seat safe against all attack. There is no necessity to degrade or pauperize his people; but the sympathy and kindness he can show them, and the various opportunities which come to him in which he can help to make their lives brighter, must bring about this result.

There is one notable example in the North of London of a constituency (which is the safest seat in the Metropolis) which has returned the same representative for years, and which has been held against internal dissension and strong political opposition, solely for the reason that the members of his family have devoted

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

themselves to acquiring a personal knowledge of his constituents, and impressing on them the conviction that they consider themselves their friends in the best sense of the word. If Parliamentary life is so desirable, it is not a very heavy price to pay for it, and the labor can be shared and lightened by the wife and daughters undertaking part, and their influence is of more importance than any other. It is not only during the storm and stress of election-time that women can do their best work, but it is during the intermediate period when they ought to be able to get on terms of personal acquaintance with their constituents. One of the most trying parts of electioneering to a woman must always be the sight of poverty and sickness which meet her at every step, and which makes the political work she is carrying on such a mockery. Wretched houses, drunken parents, sick children, terrible poverty on all sides confront her, and the difficulty of staying her hand must be great. To the credit of the London voters be it said, they realize the impossibility of such help being forthcoming, and they never add to the difficulty of the work by demanding it. When homes and scenes come under the notice of the canvasser at every turn, which are appalling in their grim darkness, it seems almost impossible to appeal for political support, and to urge the claims of party on those who live under such conditions. The promises of better times, higher wages, a life more like a human being's than an animal's, seem to choke them, and the man from whom the political favor is asked must think with savage cynicism of the repeated story which to him is only a hideous sham. "I don't blame them when they promises," said a London workman, "they mean all they says when they says it, but when they gets to the House of Parliament they finds others as has promised more, and they cannot do what they said they would," and so the workingman knows that he is still far from the Arcadia promised him during a Parliamentary election.

There are amusing sides to the picture, however, as illustrated by the story told by a female canvasser during her work in the East of London. One day she found a man whitewashing a house in which she was looking for a vote, and she addressed him, expressing her hope that he would give his vote to her candidate. He sternly refused, and she said she regretted it because his candidate was sure to be beaten, adding in fun, "I'll back my man against yours." "I never bets, it's wrong,"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was his answer. Explaining this was a mere *façon de parler*, she turned to his mate, who then appeared, asking for his support, which he also refused, and he added: "I'll bet you your man will be beat." After some chaff the bet was booked, the man saying, as he wished the canvasser goodbye: "If Mr. R—— is beaten, you'll send me 'arf a crown; if Mr. W—— is beaten, I'll see what I can scrape together." Mr. R——, however, was returned with a triumphant majority, and three days afterwards she received the following letter: "Madam—Mr. R——'aving got in, you don't owe me anything; I'm a workingman and I 'ave not got 'arf a crown, but any day you was passing I should be glad to see you. Yours truly, John Jones." In a few days her work took her in the direction of Mr. Jones' house, and she found him at home. After the usual amenities Mr. Jones said: "I ain't got 'arf a crown, of course, yet what am I to do?" She assured him it was of no consequence, that he might defer his settling day. Mr. Jones did not, however, appear satisfied, and expressed his conviction that the "'arf crown" would never be forthcoming. "I ain't going to tell you 'ow I voted; my vote's my property and I can do as I likes with it, and I ain't going to tell you anything; but I am a very 'ardworking man and I've not 'ad a 'oliday for over 15 years; I 'ave not been in the country I don't know when; I 'eard as there is 'olidays going about, and I thought I'd ask you to come and see me and see if you could 'elp me to one." What happened, history says not. Let us leave the sequel to the consciences of Mr. Jones and Miss D——; but Mr. Jones was still in London a week ago.

Such incidents throw light on the motives which govern the ordinary English elector in his exercise of the franchise. While there are thousands of workingmen who no doubt value the possession of a vote, there is still a vast majority who know little and care less about the questions which affect the welfare and integrity of the empire, and whose life is one long struggle to make two ends meet, and who are therefore only influenced by purely personal interest.

This is, however, in parenthesis, and our paper is only intended to give an idea of the incidents of a general election, and the influence and effect women have had on the result.

MARY JEUNE.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ENVIRONMENT AND DRINK.

BY J. F. WALDO, M. D., AND DAVID WALSH, M. D.

In the present year of grace there is happily no need to enlarge upon the evils of alcoholic intemperance. It may be at once assumed that such indulgence entails disaster upon the individual no less than upon the family and the nation. For all that, the underlying causes of inebriety are but ill understood, although of late years a flood of light has been thrown upon their inwardness by many earnest workers. Among recent advances none is likely to be of more practical value than that which recognizes alcoholism as pointing to some mental flaw in the individual.

To the medical man a "symptom" is merely the evidence of a more remote disorder. Thus, a red and inflamed skin may be symptomatic of scarlet fever, of parasites, of measles, of sunburn, and of a host of more or less sharply defined and definable causes. In a similar way the craving for strong drink may be regarded as a symptom of varied origin. That it may be the token of an inherited mental instability is now generally acknowledged. When, however, it results from acquired brain conditions little appears to be known as to its causation.

In the matter of drink, as in other ways, the individual responds to the influences of his environment. Thus, bad surroundings may convert a man of seemingly sound mental and bodily constitution into a drunkard. On the other hand, a good environment may to a great extent neutralize the effects of even a large and long continued consumption of alcohol. Take, for instance, the case of a country squire well off in such things as food, clothes, housing, and open air exercise. He may consume a large quantity of strong drink every day of his life, and yet live to a hale and hearty old age. A poor man in a bad en-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vironment who drank to a similar extent would probably never reach forty. In the first case, it should be noted, the special circumstances imply good liquor, whereas in the second they mean drink of an inferior and highly injurious nature.

Then a bad environment acts in many ways as a direct physiological incentive to the use of alcohol. In most instances it sooner or later lessens the moral control of the individual by damaging his brain, the nutrition of which is sensitive to changes in the blood and circulation. By enfeebling the body generally, and the heart in particular, it leads the individual, naturally enough, to seek relief from the stimulant that lies nearest to his hand.

Environment is, of course, a wide term, and includes such circumstances as occupation, habitat, worldly gear, in short, all the immediate externals of the individual. The circumstances of town life are more harmful to mankind than those of the country, as shown by a comparison of the death rates of the one and the other. If we compare the mortality of the rustic laborer with that of the corresponding class in London we find that the countryman enjoys a life on an average three times as long as that of his metropolitan brethren. Much of this disparity may be accounted for by the fact that labor competition is keener in the towns, and hence there is a greater amount of poverty and privation. Among other causes are the smoky atmosphere and the general dissipation of town life, as against the simple habits and pure air of the country. Town mortality is further influenced by such points of special environment as bad drainage and unhealthy employments, but it may be questioned if, after all, the great determining factor of its havoc among adults may not be ascribed to alcohol.

It need hardly be pointed out that all comparative figures of class mortalities bristle with fallacies. Thus, certain rich London districts, such as Hampstead, with a death-rate of 14.6 per 1,000 of population, and Plumstead, with 16.4 per 1,000, compare favorably with many rural districts, and dilute, as it were, the returns for the whole Metropolis. Then, again, the towns are recruited by a steady stream of robust country folk. The urban child mortality, moreover, is about twice that of the rural. Taking such things into consideration, it is likely that the brunt of the total mortality of Great Britain falls upon the town poor.

The question of occupation closely affects the death rate of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the laboring classes. The statistics of trade mortalities, however, do not give much help upon the point. The census is meagre in details, and is taken at too long intervals. Of the workmen, many desert an unhealthy trade and drift off to swell the mortality of some other occupation; while not a few die in workhouses and other institutions, and leave no record of the particular trade that has broken their health. One may, however, attempt to arrive at a few broad tentative conclusions.

In a table by Drs. Ogle and Arlidge, comparing the mortality between persons of various occupations, we find the fifteen highest on the list:

Occupation.	Mean Annual Death-rate per 1,000 living.		Comparative mortality figure.
	Age. 25-45.	Age. 45-65.	Age. 25-65.
All males	10 16	25 27	1,000
Occupied males	9.71	24.63	967
Inn and hotel servants	22.63	55.30	2,205
General laborers in London	20.62	50.85	2,020
Costermongers and hawkers	20.26	45.33	1,879
Cornish miners	14 77	53 69	1,839
Potters and earthenware manufacturers	13.70	51.39	1,742
Filemakers	15.29	45.14	1,667
Watchmen, porters and messengers	17.07	37.37	1,565
Licensed victuallers and innkeepers	18.02	33.68	1,521
Chimney-sweeps	13.73	41.54	1,519
Cabmen and omnibusmen	15.39	36.83	1,482
Brewerymen	13.90	34.25	1,361
Hairdressers	13.64	33.25	1,327
Professional musicians	13.78	32 39	1,314
Bargemen and watermen	14.25	31.13	1,305
Carters and carriers	12.52	33.00	1,275
And the fifteen lowest:			
Watch and clock makers	9.26	22.64	903
Plasterers and whitewashers	7.79	25.07	896
Coal miners	7.64	25 11	891
Grooms and private coachmen	8.53	23.25	887
Drapers and warehousemen	9.70	20.96	883
Barristers and solicitors	7.54	23.13	883
Booksellers and stationers	8.53	20.57	825
Carpenters and joiners	7.77	21.74	820
Fishermen	8.32	19.74	797
Grocers	8.00	19.16	771
Schoolmasters and teachers	6.41	19.98	719
Agricultural laborers	7.13	17.68	701
Farmers and graziers	6 09	16.53	631
Gardeners and nurserymen	5.52	16.19	599
Clergy, priests and ministers	4.64	15.93	556

Glancing over the fifteen occupations of highest mortality two things at once attract attention. First, they belong to the working class, with the single exception of the licensed victuallers and innkeepers. Secondly, they are in the main urban. Moreover, seven of them, that is to say, the general laborers, costermongers and hawkers, watchmen and messengers, cabmen

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and omnibusmen, musicians, bargemen and watermen, carters and carriers, are engaged in outdoor work that is arduous, prolonged, and often ill-paid and unhealthy. Is it any wonder that men working under such conditions should turn for solace to alcohol? As a matter of fact nearly all of them drink to excess. We see, then, that the fifteen highest trade mortalities fall for the most part upon the town laborers, who are given to drink, and whose work is of a toilsome and exacting nature. Of course, among them are many persons of deficient bodily and mental development, who earn their bread in the unskilled labor market of the cities. In the case of the Cornish miners, countrymen of strong frames and temperate habits, the high mortality is due to the poisonous dust and the bad ventilation of the mines.

Turning to the fifteen occupations of lowest mortality, we find that four of them, namely, fishing, agricultural labor, farming and grazing, and gardening, are carried on in the open air and away from towns. The rest are partly urban and partly rural, or mixed. Some of them, such as the legal and the clerical professions, appear to enjoy a specially favorable environment.

On the whole, it may be said that the fifteen callings of lowest mortality are to a great extent rural and include many well-to-do persons in town and country, while those of the highest fifteen are mainly urban, and, with the single exception of the publicans, belong to the working classes. The majority of those included in the fifteen lowest mortalities either work in the open air or spend a good deal of time out of doors, so that it seems clear that the hardship of out-door work cannot in itself be a chief factor of the high death-rate among town laborers. We must look for some other explanation of that excessive rate.

That alcohol has a share in the untoward result it is hardly possible to doubt. Some such relation of cause and effect may be traced in the following table:

Occupation.	Mean annual death-rate per 1,000 living.		Comparative mortality figure, 1,000.
	Age. 25-45	Age. 45-65	Age. 25-65
Barristers and solicitors.....	7.54	23.13	842
Law clerks.....	10.77	30.79	1,151

This startling disproportion may be accounted for in great part by the three following factors. 1. That law clerks lead less

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

regular lives and drink more than their masters (and worse liquor). 2. That they live in cheaper and less healthy houses, and work in smaller and less wholesome offices. 3. That they are drawn from a class, often degenerate town-dwellers, less sound in mind and body than the middle class which supplies their employers.

Conditions of a similar kind apply more or less to all the fifteen occupations of highest mortality. So far as the towns are concerned, bad housing is probably to a great extent due to modern systems of drainage, which are often grossly defective. In rural districts, where no general house drainage exists, this particular risk will be avoided. Other defects, such as want of ventilation, dampness, deficient cubic space, are common both to town and to country.

The factor of faulty drainage applies to workshops as well as to houses. Broadly, it may be said to cause much bodily weakness, and, like bad ventilation, to predispose not only to chronic ill health, but also to occasional acute disease. From a physiological point of view it seems perfectly natural that any one living under bad surroundings of the kind should fly to alcohol for relief. Take the case of a town laborer going out to his work after a night spent in an unwholesome dwelling. Suppose him to change one bad environment for another in the shape of a workshop that is overcrowded, ill-ventilated and polluted by sewer gas? No wonder that a man passing his life under such depressing conditions should become weakened in mind and body, and crave for drink to stimulate his flagging heart and overtaxed energies. That this picture is not altogether imaginary may be gathered from the following considerations: First, the proper sanitary supervision of dwellings, especially of the poorer class, is yet in its infancy, and, indeed, must remain so until our system of inspection is rendered more thorough, skilled and systematic. Secondly, the defective conditions under which workshop labor is often conducted in our towns is plainly shown by the evidence given before the Lords' Commission upon sweating, and also by the reports of medical officers of health all over the country. Indeed, it could hardly be otherwise while the present local staffs of sanitary inspectors are inadequate even for the discharge of routine duties, to say nothing of the impossibility of a house to house inspection of places that contain domestic workshops.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If, on the other hand, the town laborer follow an outdoor occupation, his life still appears to be much shortened as compared with a corresponding class in the country. Thus, among the fifteen trades of heaviest mortality, we find :

Occupation.	Mean annual death rate per 1,000 living.		Comparative mortality figure, 1,000.
	Age. 25-45	Age. 45-65	Age. 25-65
General laborers in London	20.62	50 85	2,020
Costermongers and hawkers	20.26	45.33	1,879
Watchmen, porters and messengers	17.07	37.37	1,565
Cabmen and omnibusmen	15.30	36.83	1,482
Professional musicians	13.78	32.39	1,314
Carters and carriers	12.52	23.00	1,275

Although those who work at the foregoing occupations escape the danger of unwholesome workshops, they are nevertheless exposed to the environment of an unhealthy home at night. They share certain bad conditions in common with the countryman, such as long hours of labor, arduous toil and constant exposure to the stress of weather. They do not share alcohol to an equal extent, and there can be no doubt that strong drink is one of the most potent factors in shortening the life of the town laborer.

An interesting illustration of the effect of drinking habits upon mortality may be drawn from the following table :

Comparative mortality figure, 1,000.

Occupation.	Age. 25-65
1. Cabmen and omnibusmen	14.82
2. Carters and carriers	12.75
3. Grooms and private coachmen	8.87

Workers in the first two classes, which have relatively a much greater death-rate, are notoriously heavy drinkers. They stop at many public houses in the course of their daily rounds, and they receive many offers of drink. Moreover, although their work is out-door it is to a great extent sedentary, and exposure under those conditions throws such a strain upon the circulation that it is perfectly natural they should seek a physiological restorative in the shape of a pleasant cardiac stimulant. Next compare the mortality of these two classes with that of the private grooms and coachmen, who work under almost similar con-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ditions as to exposure, but who have shorter hours and less opportunity of indulging in alcohol. Indeed, it is obvious that heavy drinking habits would soon throw them out of employment. We find that their mortality is far less than that of the carters and carriers, and again than that of the cabmen and omnibusmen. It cannot be argued that the higher death-rate of the two last-named classes is due altogether to their greater consumption of alcohol. They are handicapped by longer hours of work, and they suffer in consequence to a much greater extent than private servants from rheumatism and other diseases due to exposure.

In this bird's-eye view of the relation of environment to drink the chief aim has been to map out a few of the more striking outlines. The following broad statements may be appended in the hope that they may have a suggestive value to future workers:

1. An excessive mortality prevails among the working population of towns as compared with (a) that of country laborers, or (b) of mixed classes in the wealthier urban districts.

2. The town mortality is swelled by an excessive infantile death-rate, and by the dusty and otherwise injurious trades carried on in crowded centres.

3. Overcrowding is rife in towns, especially in manufacturing districts.

4. Many town occupations are unskilled and attract men of inferior stamp.

5. Urban labor competition is keener than rural, with consequent increase of poverty and starvation.

6. Alcohol is consumed in larger quantity in towns, in part, possibly, because of the greater temptations to indulgence. It is also taken freely in the fifteen occupations that have the highest death rates.

7. Systematic house drainage, with its attendant risks, is in the main a distinctive feature of towns. Or, to put the matter in a different form:

A. The stress of preventable mortality falls on the infantile and working population of our great towns.

B. The conditions more or less peculiar to the town laborer are (a) the temptation to indulge in alcohol, (b) trade dangers, (c) bad drains.

J. F. WALDO,
DAVID WALSH.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE SALOON AND THE SABBATH.

BY THE REV. FERDINAND C. IGLEHART, D. D., PASTOR OF THE PARK AVENUE M. E. CHURCH, NEW YORK.

It is natural that there should be conflict between the saloon and the Christian Sabbath. They represent ideas exactly opposite. One stands for every thing that is bad, the other for every thing that is good. The saloon breeds disease, disorder, misery, and crime; the Sabbath brings order, health, wealth, happiness, and virtue. No moral conflict since the civil war has been more important or bitter than the one now being waged in New York city between the saloon and the Sabbath.

The first question involved in the conflict is the enforcement of law. The present excise law in New York was passed nearly forty years ago. It has been retained with few modifications by successive Democratic and Republican Legislatures. In late years it has been enforced, but only against the poor saloonkeeper who had no political influence and no money with which to pay the bribe. The records show that there were seven thousand arrests for the violation of the excise law during the last year of the Tammany administration in the city—more in proportion than under the present rule.

The Police Commissioners should have had the united support of the New York city press. With honorable exceptions they have had its opposition. The city papers are brilliant, enterprising, and, as a rule, are on the right side of moral questions. But it is one of the astonishing and lamentable features of this contest that so many secular papers have recorded themselves in favor of the breaking of law. They have not only apologized for law breakers, but they have laughed at, sneered at, and persecuted the officers who tried to enforce the law.

One of the most disgraceful things about the contest is the bit-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ter opposition to the enforcement of the excise law on the part of some officers of the Municipal, State, and Federal governments. These are surely men who ought to know what an oath is and what a law is, and yet they demand that the officers violate their oaths and allow the crime-breeding places of the city to break the law.

In the history of the world human government has moved in a circle: first, absolute despotism; then, a limited monarchy; then, a democracy; followed by anarchy and an absolute despotism again. This was the record of human government till the close of the civil war, when we taught the world that a republic need not fall into anarchy to be ruled by an absolute despot again. But we are in the midst of grave danger in the great cities. We are confronted by enemies of every kind; by the anarchy of wealth, the anarchy of labor, and especially the anarchy of the breweries, the distilleries and the grog shops. Ex-Judge Noah Davis, before whom William M. Tweed was tried and convicted, said in a public address a few months ago: "In my experience of thirty years on the bench I give it as my deliberate opinion that eight-tenths of all the crime can be traced to the saloon." Notwithstanding the opposition of able papers, of influential politicians and powerful office holders, the Police Commissioners have held their faces like flint to the purpose, and their moral heroism and patriotism have stood out in bold relief against the moral cowardice and disloyalty of those who have opposed them.

The second question involved in the contest is the continuance of the Sunday closing law. No law favoring the opening of saloons on Sundays should be passed. Nothing would so offend the conscience or corrupt the morals of the people as such a step. New York should be slow to crave the disgraceful notoriety of being about the only State in the Union to legalize the opening of saloons on Sunday.

The Sunday opening is claimed in the interest of the poor man, when it is for the benefit of the rich. It is in the interest of the tills of the eight thousand saloon keepers of New York city, and especially in the interest of the coffers of the millionaire brewers and distillers. The brewers' organization of New York city alone represents $50,000,000, and the whiskey dealers' association $30,000,000 more; so that there are $80,000,000

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

behind the liquor interest in New York city. It is this colossal monopoly, and not the poor man, that is causing all the excitement against the enforcement of the Sunday law. It is said that the brewers' association has mortgages on more than six of the eight thousand saloons of the city, and is proceeding steadily to place mortgages on the rest of the town, on its public sentiment, its politics, and its laws. It is estimated that previous to the Sunday closing there were $200,000 worth of liquor consumed in the bar rooms of the city every Sunday. Many saloon keepers deprived of their best day's sales have broken up, and thousands of failures will follow. The loss will fall upon the millionaires who furnish the product and hold the mortgages. No monopoly of America so oppresses the poor as the monopoly of beer. Moloch of old whose brazen form held out its hand for the money of the people, and whose fires consumed the sons offered as victims, was merciful, compared to the Moloch of rum whose hand demands millions of money, and whose fires burn up the best of our sons.

The laboring man of the United States consumes an average of a hundred dollars worth of drink each year. This amount would buy fuel and flour for every working man in America. The working people of New York City spend for liquor more than $50,000 a day, or $1,500,000 a month. Many men are poor because they have had too much beer through the week. It would be a mercy to them to shut the door of temptation to them on Sunday. The liquor dealers are anxious that the poor man shall have some beer with his dinner on Sunday. The anxiety of the poor man's family is to have some dinner with their beer. There has been no proposition of the benevolent saloon keeper to let the poor man have free beer with his free lunch on Sunday. It is the poor man's dimes and not his liberty that they are so anxious about.

It is claimed that the poor man has as good right to his beer on the Sabbath as the rich man has to his fine wines, brandies and whiskeys. The jealousy of the poor man might ask no sweeter revenge than to continue the discrimination. For if the rich will continue to drink long enough they will become poor, and if the poor will quit drinking long enough they will become rich. An easier and wiser way of securing justice would be to amend the law and prevent the selling at rich mens' clubs, restaurants and hotel rooms.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Another reason assigned for opening the saloons on Sunday is that there are so many foreigners in New York city that it would be the proper thing to adjust our laws to their customs. When the blood is good, mixed blood makes the best nation. It makes the strongest body and most vigorous mind. We have been very fortunate as a nation in the good stock that has come to us from foreign shores. The surprise is not that we have been Europeanized so much, but so little, and that we have Americanized our foreign population so well. That fact attests the strength of our form of government and the wisdom and virtue of its founders. Of late, however, the foreign element has been poured in upon us too rapidly, much of it being of an undesirable character. We used to be the asylum for the oppressed of all nations, it looks of late, as though we were coming to be oppressed by the asylums of all nations, so much abject poverty, mental disability, moral stupidity and crime are thrown in upon us to poison us body and soul. We can take care of the whole world, but it must come to us slowly enough for us to assimilate it. Almost nowhere on the continent is our form of government so strained to maintain itself as it is in its resistance of the tremendous tide of un-American immigration which flows into New York city to remain in it. This is no time to relax American law to the standard of Old World government or Old World morals. This is no time to make New York a Berlin for the German, a St. Petersburg for the Russian, a Paris for the Frenchman, or a Rome for the Italian. It is the time to keep New York American for the Americans, whether they come from Europe, Asia, Africa, or the islands of the seas, or are native born. It is one of the fortunate results of an unfortunate panic that last year we exported about as many foreigners as we imported, giving the nation a rest and an opportunity to assimilate the elements already here. It is said that there are 400,000 Germans in New York city, and that they have been accustomed to have their beer on Sunday in their own country and should be allowed to have it here. The Germans are among our best population. Their industry, economy, integrity, domestic fidelity, intelligence, patriotism, have contributed much to our national thrift. But these hundreds of thousands of Germans have no more right to ask us to surrender our civil Sabbath, and hug the saloon to our bosom, than they have to ask us to surrender our form of govern-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment and have a Kaiser because they have been accustomed to live under a monarchy. The proper thing for them to do is to respect and obey the laws of the country to which they have come. That the Puritan civilization is better than theirs is attested by the fact that 100,000 of the flower of the German nation come to our country every year. Numbers of Germans have strict ideas of the Sabbath, and have no love for the American saloon. Some of the most powerful advocates of Sunday closing are among the ministers and members of the evangelical German Churches in New York city.

A large proportion of the solid, substantial, law-abiding people of all religious creeds and every political faith are in favor of closing the saloons on Sunday. They believe that the Fourth is one of the Ten Commandments on which is based the jurisprudence of the ruling empires of the world, and that in the long run human society would suffer as much from disobedience of the Fourth as of any other one of the commandments. The rigid Sabbath laws of most of the English speaking nations of the world have their root in the old Anglo-Saxon idea of loyalty to God and liberty to the individual through loyalty to God.

There are others who do not recognize the religious obligation of the Sabbath, who believe in it as a civil institution. They consider it necessary as a rest for labor, a wall against crime, a shelter for virtue, and they are earnestly in favor of enforcing the law against the saloons. The Supreme Court of New York and the Court of Appeals have thus defined the civil Sabbath :

"As a civil institution it is older than the government. The framers of the first constitution found it in existence ; they recognized it in their acts. The stability of government, the welfare of the subject, and the interests of society have made it necessary that the day of rest observed by the people of a nation should be uniform, and that its observance should be, to some extent, compulsory, not by way of enforcing the conscience of those upon whom the law operates, but by way of protecting those who desire and are entitled to the day."

Justice McLean of the United States Supreme Court says :

"Where there is no Christian Sabbath there is no Christian morality, and without this free government cannot long exist."

Nothing which the Catholic Church has done in its history in this country has so commanded the respect and approbation of the Christians of the United States as the strong stand it has taken against opening the saloons on Sunday. The last Plenary

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Council at Baltimore, held last year, at which eighty bishops and nearly all the prominent priests in the United States assisted, and over which Cardinal Gibbons presided, has this to say on the question:

"We earnestly appeal to all Catholics without distinction, not only to take no part in any movement tending toward a relaxation of the observance of the Sunday, but to use their influence as citizens to resist in the opposite direction. There is one way of profaning the Lord's Day, which is so prolific of evil results that we consider it our duty to utter against it a special condemnation. This is the practice of selling beer or other liquors on Sunday, or of frequenting places where they are sold. This practice tends more than any other to turn the Day of the Lord into a day of dissipation, to use it for an occasion for breeding intemperance. While we hope that Sunday laws on this point will not be relaxed but even more rigidly enforced, we implore all Catholics for the love of God and of country, never to take part in such Sunday traffic, nor to patronize nor countenance it. We call upon pastors to induce all of their flocks that may be engaged in the sale of liquors to abandon as soon as they can the dangerous traffic and to embrace a more becoming way of making a living."

The Methodist Church, the largest Protestant denomination in the country, has taken a step further, and declared in favor of total abstinence for the individual and total prohibition for society. Protestants and Catholics will be united in this fight, a fact which the makers of political platforms and the candidates for votes should remember before they place themselves on the wrong side of the question.

The women of the state and country are about a unit in favor of the Sabbath against the saloon. Cultured Christian women, who know the value of the Sabbath in their lives and in bringing up their families to usefulness and honor, and the poor wretched woman who is oppressed by husband, father or son crazed by drink, will join their prayers to God for the preservation of the Lord's Day. Woman may not cast a ballot, but she will be powerful in this contest.

A law opening drinking-houses on Sunday would be the entering wedge that would eventually open all the other business places. Every other branch of industry could offer a better reason for opening on Sunday than the saloon. The working men ought to stand by the church people in this contest, for if the civil Sabbath is allowed to slip away from us to business, it will mean for the laborer seven days' work for six days' wages, as in many places on the Continent.

The contest in New York city thus far has proved that the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

law can be enforced. Very few people thought it could. About the strongest argument urged for a change before the Excise Committee of the last Legislature was that a law that could not be enforced engendered disrespect for law which was demoralizing. The majesty of law, however, has been vindicated not by repealing, but by enforcing, the law. This local moral victory has a far-reaching significance. It rejoices the friends of law and order all over the land. They feel that if the saloons can be closed on Sunday in New York they can be closed anywhere. Philadelphia, with more than a million of inhabitants, has but 1,400 saloons, all of which are shut on Sunday. New York follows with its victory over six times the number of these breeding places of vice. There is no reason why all the cities of the country should not profit by their example.

The enforcement of the excise law has been in every way beneficial to the public. It was claimed by the liquor men and by their many friends that it was the Puritanical law that caused the wholesale bribery of the police, and that this vice would never cease till the harsh law had been repealed. Many good people believed the falsehood. Columns of the newspapers were full of charges that Puritanical law and religious oppression caused the bribery of the police, with not a word against the thousand self-confessed bribe givers whose wicked hearts had conceived the crime. There is no bribery of the police now. It was the enforcement and not the repeal of the excise law that was needed to stop the bribery.

President Roosevelt reports that, thus far, crimes committed on the Sabbath have fallen off fifty per cent. The same good results followed the enforcement of the metropolitan excise law in New York from 1867 to 1870. Resolutions of approval signed by many of the pastors below Fourteenth street, headed by Bishop Potter, which were sent to the Police Board, attest the beneficent effects of Sunday closing on the crowded down-town population.

The liquor men having failed to secure from the Legislature the favor which they have sought for years, now propose to leave the decision of the question to a vote of the people of New York City. But when the effort was made to force the Legislature to pass a Sunday opening law, it was never once thought of leaving the matter to a vote of the people. And if the whiskey men

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

should have votes enough in the next Legislature to pass a Sunday opening law over the Governor's veto, the home rule proposition would never be heard of again. The church people do not like the idea of submitting to a vote the question whether the people of New York shall be permitted to steal, murder, commit adultery, break the Sabbath, or violate any other one of the Ten Commandments. A Legislature that would not recognize as true without any debate the principles of the Ten Commandments, and would not have courage enough to embody them in laws, would have no reason for its existence. It is the business of the members of the Legislature to make laws for the State. They have no right to shirk the responsibility. They ought to continue to us the civil Sabbath, which is older than the government. Some sneer at the Legislature as though it were a collection of rustics ignorant of the needs of a great city; when, in fact, nineteen Senators and fifty-six Assemblymen, or more than one-third of the whole number, are members from New York city and Brooklyn.

If a Sunday saloon is good for New York it is good for all the other towns of the State. What right has any one to discriminate in favor of the great rich city and against the poor little town? There has been much silly talk about the necessity of the city's cutting loose from the country. The country could do without New York as easily as New York could do without it. Meat and bread and milk and vegetables and fruits are drawn from the country. The stores of the city could not keep open long without customers from the country. New York is engaged in sneers at the "hayseeds." Washington and Lincoln were farmers; Grant was the son of a rural tanner; they were "hayseeds." General Harrison was born in the country and Grover Cleveland was the son of a village pastor. A majority of the leading financiers, business men, professional men of New York city, are from the country. Some of the editors who write such caustic articles about the "hayseed" Legislature learned all they know on a country newspaper. A poll of New York city would show that half, if not two-thirds, of the inhabitants are from small cities, towns, villages, and farms. There is perhaps not a great city in the civilized world that could live for two generations without population from the country to replenish and enrich it. It is more than likely that a majority of our foreign population who

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

scout the idea of "hayseed" representatives being able to legislate for a cosmopolitan city are themselves from rural districts in their fatherlands, some of them from regions where they eat black bread all the year, and count it a luxury to have white bread and molasses at Christmas time. In native ability, in education, in enterprise, and in moral force, the man of the country is a match for the man of the metropolis.

The civil Sabbath or the church is not at stake in this conflict. They shall stand till the end of time. Our form of government in the great cities is at stake; the American commonwealth is in the balance. There is encouragement to believe that in this fair land free government will not prove a failure; that virtue, however unfavorable the environment may be, will be stronger than vice, and that avarice and appetite for drink and all base passion will fall before love to God and fellow-man, which is moving so swiftly to the conquest of the world.

FERDINAND C. IGLEHART.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PERSONAL HISTORY OF THE SECOND EMPIRE.

X.—THE CAUSES OF THE MEXICAN WAR.

BY ALBERT D. VANDAM, AUTHOR OF "AN ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS," "MY PARIS NOTE-BOOK," ETC., ETC.

THERE is no doubt in my own mind that the corruption of the Second Empire, to which I referred in the preceding chapters, has led some writers astray in their appreciation of the first cause—or may be causes—whence sprang the war in Mexico. Amidst the haze which unquestionably enwraps those causes, the figure of the Swiss banker, Jecker, with his claim for 75,000,000 francs against the Government of Benito Juarez, seems to loom inordinately large; but a few moments of serious consideration must inevitably bring the conclusion that the huge contour is due to the peculiar disposition of a light behind a comparatively small substance; in other words, that the shadow is out of all proportion to the object reflected. For not the most "slap-dash" leader-writer, not the most theorizing and dogmatic essayist, let alone the more evenly-balanced student of human nature, could for an instant imagine that at the period at which we have arrived, Louis Napoleon would have embarked on the Mexican campaign for no other reason than a prospective lion's share of those 75,000,000 francs.

The following notes, emanating from the two different sources I have so often had occasion to indicate, will throw a better light on the causes that led to the Mexican campaign than any attempt of mine could. Their authors had not only the privilege of being frequently behind the scenes at the Tuileries, and the enviable and instinctive talent of deduction, but one of them—the late M. de Maupas's friend—was unquestionably, as I have already shown, on intimate terms with some of the foremost members of the Corps

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Diplomatique. There are but two drawbacks to the mass of information they supply; first, it is very fragmentary, consequently it lacks sequence; secondly, the dates are wanting in nine cases of every ten. This latter defect probably arose from the authors' utter indifference as to the ultimate fate of their jottings; I have endeavored to remedy it by classification and condensation, in which, however, I was guided by the wish to give a succinct account of events rather than by considerations of chronology. I may be permitted to remark that this obvious indifference of the authors lends additional value to their evidence, for it renders their good faith above suspicion. They may have erred in their appreciation; the authenticity of the facts themselves is beyond dispute. The uniformity of style—some people might say the want of style—of these notes is due to me. As usual I have had to abbreviate and correct many of those that were in English; the French ones I have had to translate.

"There is to be more military glory and more marching at the head of civilization." Thus runs one of my English notes, evidently written at the very outset of the affair. "There is to be more military glory and more marching," it says a second time. "The military glory is almost a foregone conclusion, and there will be plenty of room for marching and even for countermarching in a country as vast as Mexico; it remains to be seen whether it may not prove a bit too vast to be furrowed by the wheels of gun-carriages instead of the plough for the reception of the seed of that civilization; it is questionable whether bayonets are the most efficient implements to 'set' seed with, even the seed of civilization. I have got an idea that one of the causes for this anxiety to march at the head of civilization through the erstwhile Empire of Montezuma is jealousy of the growing influence of the United States in that quarter and the probable consolidation of republican principles which would result from that influence. In spite of the sympathy with those principles supposed to lie dormant in Louis Napoleon's breast, he does not like them practically any more than his uncle, albeit that some of the coins of the latter's reign bear the words 'Empire et République.' Moreover, if there be jealousy in the mind of the Emperor with regard to the United States, the United States do not appear to be altogether free from an analogous sentiment with regard to him. Her public men have had, as it were, a prophetic feeling of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

antagonism against him for years, in fact, almost since his very accession to the throne, which feeling, perhaps, showed itself against their wish in such matters, for instance, as their lukewarm participation in the Exposition of 1855. That lukewarmness was, if not resented, at least regretted by the new Emperor, who especially at that period was never tired of proclaiming his admiration of, and his cordial friendship for, the United States, and who expected, perhaps, a return of the compliment. He not only did not get that, but President Buchanan sounded a distinct warning against him and his probable policy with regard to Mexico as early as two years ago.* The feeling of displeasure on the Emperor's part was probably heightened by the curious coincidence that President Buchanan had given umbrage to Napoleon III. before.† The disturbed condition of the Union's home affairs is not the absolute reason for Napoleon's taking action in the matter just now, but it is one of them. He knows perfectly well that in 1857 the United States did not send their representative to Zuloaga but to Juarez, because the erstwhile Oaxaka lawyer is a man after their own heart. And it would appear that President Lincoln thinks as much of him as his predecessor. I have all this on very good authority, not from one source but from at least a half-dozen. President Lincoln has, however, his hands very full, and the Emperor thinks that Lincoln's poison may prove Napoleon's meat; for from all I hear, *the Emperor is absolutely working for his own hand,* and if all I hear be true, *for his own hand alone.*"

The note does not end here, but I am obliged to interrupt its transcription to make room for one in my younger grand-uncle's handwriting, which note affords, as it were, a kind of explanation of the last sentence of the other. The italics of that sentence are not mine, and I may also be allowed to state that if my surmises with regard to the identity of the writer of the notes given to me by M. de Maupas are correct, as I have every reason to believe they are, the two men whose information I print, that is my younger grand-uncle on the one side and the English nobleman on the other, were never even on speaking terms with one another. Their social standing and their tastes were too wide apart.

* Buchanan's speech in Congress, 1859.

† Then follows the story of Mr. Buchanan's conversation with the Emperor at the French Embassy in London in 1855, related in a previous note by the same author, both which note and story I used in Chapter V. The repetition is, to my mind, another proof that the notes were never intended for publication.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

They may have met in society, and the name of the Englishman was a household word among the Parisians of that day, in the sense that the name of the Duc de Gramont-Caderousse was a little later on, but I feel certain that they never held any communication. The similarity of opinion expressed in those notes is therefore apparently all the more striking, not in reality though, when we remember that both were behind the same scenes. The note of my uncle, I should say, is of a somewhat later date.

"The English are really not showing their usual and admirable common sense in their criticisms on the Campaign in Mexico. A few weeks ago Lord Montagu" (Lord Montague?) "gave a statesmanlike account of the 'Jecker claim' in the House of Commons. He told his listeners how Jecker had sold an enormous portion of the shares of his loan to the then French Minister in Mexico, M. de Gabriac, how the latter had sold them to others until they finally came into the hands of Morny, who, according to his Lordship, bought still more from various holders, and also induced a still higher placed personage—by which, of course, he meant the Empress—to participate in the purchase. The English nobleman is unquestionably a capital speaker, and marshals his real or supposed facts with great ability, but his absolute ignorance of the character of the Emperor, Empress, Morny, and the rest of the foremost personages at Court, has led him into one or two most amusing blunders besides deluding him and his countrymen into the belief that the recovery of the Jecker claim was the main object in the Emperor's mind of the expedition to Mexico. The idea of Morny's disbursing money for such things as the Jecker bonds is too ridiculous for words, and the thought of the Empress acting upon any suggestion from Morny in that or any other matter is if anything still more ridiculous. These bonds were never sold by Jecker to Gabriac; they are probably in Jecker's possession now, though there is certainly an understanding between him and Morny that the latter shall have a considerable number of them the moment they look capable of being realized even at a tremendous discount. Why, when Jecker became bankrupt about two years ago over 68 millions of francs of those bonds, out of 75 millions issued, were found among his assets. I have this on excellent authority, namely, on that of Baron James de Rothschild, who told me at the time. It is pretty well known here that Mr. Mathews, the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

English Consul in Mexico, sent word to Lord Russell that Benito Juarez had not even the comparatively small sum wherewith to send La Fuente to Europe, though it is equally well known that Abraham Lincoln, notwithstanding his own difficult position just now, has fulfilled his secret promise to the real defender of Mexico's independence to send him money, arms, and, if possible, volunteers. But Juarez is scrupulously honest, and with the subsidies received he no doubt discharged his most pressing liabilities, and left himself almost penniless. Not only are the personal resources of Juarez and his adherents practically exhausted, but the country itself is in a similar sad plight. The report has just reached here that the capital has not even sufficient funds for the decorations and triumphal arches on the occasion of the entry of the French troops, and that M. Martin Daran, a banker in that city, advanced 40,000 francs for the purpose. One can scarcely imagine the Emperor to be ignorant of those reports, and yet it is assumed by a prominent member of the English parliament, and probably by others also, that in order to press the Jecker claim more forcibly, the Emperor continues his occupation, for there is scarcely any contention about the purely French claim, though the Emperor for reasons of his own would scarcely admit this.

"The English Government informed Lord Cowley about five months ago that in a conversation with the French Ambassador Lord Russell had given the latter to understand that if the French would completely abandon the Jecker claim, her Majesty's Minister would support the purely French claim, though not for the amount claimed. I wonder whether Lord Russell is aware that the Comte de Flahaut, the French Ambassador in question, is the father of Morny, that Morny has been mainly instrumental in procuring the appointment of Dubois de Saligny as French ambassador in Mexico in succession to the Comte de Gabriac, and that Dubois de Saligny, who aroused all the ill-feeling of the Mexicans or rather of the Juarists—although the terms seem almost to be synonymous—against the French in order to report that ill-feeling to his government, has boasted to one of the Civil Commissioners of the army of occupation that his (Saligny's) 'sole merit consisted in having foreseen the intention of the Emperor to intervene in the affairs of Mexico, and to have rendered

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

such intervention absolutely necessary.' All those doings and sayings are recorded in private letters from Mexico, private letters which would be useful indeed to some of the European statesmen who seem to be stone-blind with regard to the real motives and intentions of the Emperor.

"For the support thus generously offered by England is the very thing the Emperor does not want. It would smooth the money difficulties between Juarez and himself, and would at once destroy the pretext for a protracted occupation. Jecker's claim, as being less likely of settlement, affords a pretext more difficult to destroy, and that is where Jecker will probably score and Morny pocket his ill-gotten gains. Let it not be thought for one moment that the Emperor has the faintest sympathy with Jecker as the creditor of the Mexican Government or erstwhile Government. He is as firmly convinced of the iniquity of the claim, and that apart from the amount, as all those must be who have given the matter the slightest attention. But he saw in it at once the opportunity he had been looking for for at least three years, that is, ever since it became patent to him that the war with Austria for the liberation of Italy, now that it had been successful, would inevitably lead to complications with the Holy See. For the wish to regain, if possible, the good graces of the Vatican is another factor in the Mexican Campaign, and a much more powerful one than the recovery of the moneys Mexico owes to France. It must be remembered that the Liberals, the partisans of Juarez, have confiscated the lands and property of the clergy, which property, if realized, would assume almost fabulous proportions. Unfortunately for the real independence of Mexico this realization is at present impossible. In the disturbed state of the country no foreigner would invest, and the Mexican higher clergy have already threatened the Mexicans born with major excommunication if they bought the tiniest plot of that property or paid rent for it. General La Forey has already had to interfere in that respect.

"At the first blush nothing seemed easier for the Emperor than to have made France's claim against Mexico the basis for an intervention, although—and I am absolutely certain of what I say—the whole debt with regard to moneys lent at the beginning of the intervention scarcely exceeded a million of francs. The rest had been incorporated into the Jecker loan, which, 'giving

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

new bonds for old ones,' had nominally made Jecker and Company the chief creditor of Mexico. The whole of the French claims other than for money lent, even if every claim had been justified, would not have exceeded another million. The latter is the claim which in the first clause of the ultimatum at Soledad, has been magnified into sixty million francs for damages and losses sustained by French subjects up to July, 1862. The ultimatum did well to insist that the claim had to be acknowledged by Mexico, without discussion on her part and without France furnishing particulars. Monstrous as this may appear in the light of the comity of nations, it is still more monstrous in view of the following fact, for the authenticity of which I can vouch. After the bombardment of San Juan de Ulloa, the French had their claims settled to the amount of three millions of francs, a million of which remained after a careful examination of the claims by the French Government itself. That million was afterwards divided by the French Government among the necessitous Frenchmen in Mexico.

"France, therefore, has not fared badly either at the hands of Juarez or at those of his predecessors. Nevertheless, as I said just now, inasmuch as a claim, which upon conscientious examination would not have amounted to two millions (including moneys lent), was magnified into one of sixty, the Emperor might as well have taken that one as the redemption of the Jecker bonds for the basis of his intervention, with the additional knowledge of having a more ungrudging material support from England, and a moral one from the rest of the powers.

"But this would have been altogether at variance with his temper. That spirit of indecision of his, that tendency to have any number of strings to his bow, in reference to various and often conflicting ends, that spirit and tendency which to a great extent, though not wholly, had remained in abeyance in the beginning of his reign, have recently assumed the upper hand. The Emperor likes to suspend his decision about any and everything until the last moment, and after having weighed the *for* and *against* of a scheme for ever so long, he ends up by taking a sudden but entirely unforeseen resolution. The resolution to make the Jecker bonds the pretext for the expedition was of that kind and surprised no one so much as Jecker himself, who had certainly no such hopes when he applied to the Emperor.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Far from disbursing money for Jecker bonds, which at that time were practically worthless, Morny must have had a pretty lump sum from Jecker on the promise of interesting the Emperor on his behalf. There was, moreover, a correspondence very compromising to the natural brother of the Emperor. The sum Morny had received was too considerable to be refunded by the Emperor—people say it was a million and a half of francs—and Morny had not taken a step towards redeeming his promise. Jecker, on the other hand, positively refused to part with the correspondence, nay, threatened to publish it unless that sum was refunded; and as Jecker was not naturalized then, consequently not a Frenchman, the usual means for gagging him, or for that matter for suppressing him altogether, resorted to by the Prefecture of Police, were not available.

"It is doubtful whether the Emperor would have resorted to them if they had been available. He jumped at the redemption of the Jecker bonds as a valid pretext for intervention. For I repeat again and again, the redemption of the Jecker bonds is a pretext, just as the offer of the crown of Mexico to Maximilian of Austria is a sham. I may not live to see this, but if the expedition be successful, and Maximilian elevated to the throne, he may remain there for his lifetime, if for so long, but the succession will devolve upon Napoleon's heirs; for what the Emperor has really in his mind is a great empire in America for the French, just as there is a great empire in India for the English. If the thought had been seriously entertained to found a stable empire for any one but Napoleon III. and his heirs, Napoleon III. would not have selected a childless prince and a prince who is childless after five years of marriage. There is another end the Emperor has in view by that selection, the reconciliation with the Holy See. Maximilian is a staunch Catholic, and the Mexican higher clergy, the most corrupt in the world, will regain their influence under him. It will be a set-off against the probable loss by Pius IX. of his temporal sovereignty. If that fails Napoleon III. will think out something else to conciliate the Vatican."*

ALBERT D. VANDAM.

(*To be continued.*)

* My uncle was right, the Convention of 1864 between Italy and France was "the other thing."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HUNTING LARGE GAME.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL NELSON A. MILES, U. S. A.

THE bison, or buffalo, was the roving Indian's mainstay and support. It furnished him with splendid robes to protect him from the cold of winter. Its hide, with that of the elk, furnished him warm shelter and clothing, while the venison and buffalo meat supplied him with an abundance of wholesome and toothsome food. The vast region from the Rio Grande, through Texas, eastern New Mexico and Colorado, the Indian Territory, Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, Wyoming, Montana, and the plains of British America, was the pasture ground of millions of buffalo. I think it is safe to say that from the crest of a mesa or some high butte I have frequently seen from twenty thousand to thirty thousand within a radius of ten or fifteen miles. Within a single decade the buffalo, as well as the wild horse of the plains, became extinct, the last remnant of both having been run down and killed or taken in the vicinity of that strange section overlooked by surveying parties in laying out the boundaries of Kansas, the Indian Territory, Texas, New Mexico, and Colorado, known as No Man's Land.

The chase of the buffalo was the Indian's chief amusement as well as one of his means of livelihood, and was carried on usually on horseback, formerly with bow and lance, latterly with rifle also. In this exercise they became wonderfully expert. Mounted on his strong, fleet "Indian pony," well trained for the chase, he dashed off at full speed amongst the herd and discharged his deadly arrows to their hearts from his horse's back. This horse was the fleetest animal of the prairie, and easily brought his rider alongside of his game. Both the horse and rider had been stripped beforehand of everything, shield, quiver, dress, and saddle, which might in the least encumber or handicap the horse for speed, the Indian carrying only bow and quiver with half a dozen arrows

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

drawn from it and held lightly and loosely in his left hand ready for instant use. With a trained horse the Indian rider had little use for the line, which was fastened around the horse's neck with a noose around the under jaw, falling loosely over the horse's neck and trailing behind, passing to the left side of the rider. This was used for a great variety of purposes—to stop, to guide, to secure the animal, to throw him, and bind him when down. All this the Indians did with great skill.

The approach was made upon the right side of the game, the arrow being thrown to the left at the instant the horse was passing the animal's heart, or some vital organ, which received the deadly weapon "to the feather." In fact, Indians have been known to send their arrows with such force as to drive them completely through the buffalo.

The Indian generally rode close in the rear of the herd until he had selected the animal he wished to kill. He then separated it from the throng by watching for a favorable opportunity, and, dashing his horse between, forcing it off by itself and killing it, thus avoiding the danger of being trampled to death, as he was liable to be if operating within the massed herd.

The training of the horse was such that it quickly knew the object of its rider's selection, and exerted every energy to come to close quarters. In the chase the rider leaned well forward and off from its side, with his bow firmly drawn ready for the shot, which was given the instant he was opposite the animal's body. The horse, being instinctively afraid of the huge beast, kept his eyes strained upon him, and the moment he reached the proximity required, and heard the twang of the bow or the crack of the rifle, he sheered instantly, though gradually, off, to escape the horns of the infuriated beast. Frightful collisions would occasionally occur, notwithstanding the wonderful sagacity of the horse and the caution of the rider. Occasionally the buffalo would turn before being wounded. In a buffalo chase, I had one turn quickly on myself, even before I had a chance to fire a shot. Capt. Frank D. Baldwin, of the Fifth Infantry, had a number of most remarkable escapes both from buffaloes and from wolves, and as illustrating the characteristics of both these species of large game, I may instance in some detail one or two of his dangerous adventures. One day in September, 1870, when he was stationed at Fort Hayes, Kansas, he received a note from a friend in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Chicago, saying that he, with two others, would be out to take a buffalo hunt.

Baldwin was Quartermaster of the post at that time. Among the horses which he used himself was an extra-fine "buffalo horse." This horse was one of the most perfect of its kind, and it was no poor horseman that would remain on him after firing the shot, unless he thoroughly understood the traits of the horse. Of course when the friend and his party came it was incumbent upon Baldwin to give him the best buffalo horse, while he himself was obliged to ride an untrained one from the corral.

They rode out with great expectations of having a fine time, and, after travelling twelve or fifteen miles, discovered their first herd of buffalo. Baldwin had warned his friend of the necessity of watching his horse after firing, but feeling confident that in the excitement of his first chase he would forget all about it, kept along close beside him. Sure enough, at the first shot fired when about fifty yards from the buffalo, the horse made his sharp turn, and off went the rider.

After getting him up and on the horse again, Baldwin thought he would show what he could do himself; so with the green horse on which he was mounted, he started for a fine bull and soon overtook him. By a little urging he was able to get the horse close beside him, and then fired, mortally wounding the animal; but the horse, instead of trying to escape the brute, kept along by his side. Instantly the buffalo turned and imbedded his horns in the horse, just behind the flanks. Baldwin was thrown over the buffalo. He alighted on his head and shoulders, and remained unconscious for several minutes. When he became conscious the buffalo was standing there, bleeding at the mouth and nose, with his four legs spread apart, and in the last agonies of death, but looking fiercely at Baldwin, watching for the least indication of life. Had he made the slightest movement, as he no doubt would have done if he had had the strength, he would have been gored to death. Parts of the horse were still hanging to the horns of the buffalo. Fortunately this condition of affairs did not last more than a minute, when the buffalo fell dead with his head within a few feet of Baldwin's person.

What was regarded by the Indians as royal sport has been denominated the "surround." It required a body of three or four hundred warriors to perform it satisfactorily. First, a few

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

runners were sent out to discover a herd of buffalo, frequently selecting one containing as many as two hundred. Then dividing the force of warriors, and selecting some four or five groups of from fifteen to twenty warriors each, to take position outside the moving body that was to encircle the herd at prominent points where they could give chase to and destroy any buffalo that might break through the closing-in line and escape, the main body proceeded to surround the herd. They went in groups to different sides of the herd and then gradually approached from all directions, closing the animals in and starting them to running around within the circle formed by the converging and contracting line of warriors. So skillfully was this managed that they would keep the herd in motion, alternating in the chase and firing, until they had destroyed the entire number. It approaches more nearly than any other sport to the excitement of a battle, exhibiting the same skillful horsemanship and marksmanship without the attending danger.

In the dead of winter the Indian would run upon the surface of the snow by the aid of snow shoes, while the great weight of the buffaloes, sinking them down through even when the snow was heavily encrusted, rendered them easy victims to the bow or lance of their pursuers.

Another method of the Indian in hunting was to place himself under the skin of the wolf and crawl up on his hands and knees until within a few rods of an unsuspecting group of buffalo, where he could easily shoot down the fattest of the herd.

There were several varieties of wolf on the plains, the most formidable as well as the most numerous being the gray wolf, often as large as a Newfoundland dog. They were gregarious, going about in packs of fifty or sixty, and were always to be seen following about in the vicinity of herds of buffalo, standing ready to pick the bones of those the hunters left on the ground, or to overtake and devour those that were wounded, which were an easy prey. While the herd of buffalo were together they seemed to have little dread of the wolves, and allowed them to come in close company. It was this fact that suggested the above described stratagem. When the buffalo were abundant these wolves were harmless to man, but as the buffalo diminished in numbers, and the food of the wolves became precarious, they grew ferocious when made ravenous by hunger.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Captain Baldwin gave me an account of an incident that happened to him in May, 1866.

"I was stationed," said he, "at Fort Harker, Kansas, in command of a company of the 37th Infantry. Fort Harker was located on the overland stage route from Fort Riley to Denver, and after leaving Fort Harker it was unsafe for any one to travel in daylight except with a good escort of troops. . . .

"On one of my journeys of inspection I stopped about thirty miles from the fort to have a buffalo hunt, and hunted all day, but at night I was obliged to start back for the post. I left the station about four o'clock in the afternoon in a light snowstorm, with a tolerably fresh horse that was both strong and spirited. I was alone and armed only with a small thirty-six calibre pistol, depending almost entirely upon my horse to escape any danger from Indians, not anticipating danger from any other source.

"I had ridden about ten miles when it began to grow dark. My horse taking an easy trot, I was rather enjoying the ride. I had noticed previous to this time the howling of wolves, but had paid very little attention to it. As I rode along I noticed that this howling began to get closer, and at length was aroused from my reverie by the bark and howl of two or three wolves very close to me. Looking back I saw two coyotes and one big prairie or Lobo wolf following close behind me, and howling their utmost. This rather startled the horse, as you may be sure it did me. I increased my speed, but still they gained on me, and it wasn't long before their numbers grew to a dozen or more, and the distance between them and my horse was very much lessened.

"I began to appreciate the danger and realized for the first time that I had a weapon with which it was very doubtful whether I could defend myself against such ravenous beasts as these. I recalled the fact that just before leaving I had counted the number of rounds of ammunition I had, which was just forty-nine.

"I had left the stage route, intending to go to the post by a trail which would save me something more than five miles in distance, and as it was dark I had no hopes of gaining one of the stations along the route, but was obliged to keep to the trail, trusting to my mount to take me out of what had now become a real danger. The wolves kept gaining on me until they had got within a very short distance before I fired the first shot at them, which, fortunately, disabled one of their number to the extent

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that the blood ran from him, and he began to howl, whereupon the whole pack pounced upon him and tore him to pieces. This gave me a little start of one or two hundred yards before they commenced following again. I fired every shot with the greatest care, and it was very seldom that I missed disabling or killing one of them.

"Afraid of tiring my horse at the start, I rode very carefully. The number of the wolves increased until there were not less than from fifty to seventy-five of them, and they followed me for at least twenty miles, cutting my horse in the rear and flanks, often getting almost in his front, enabling me to shoot from right to left, firing when the animals were not four feet distant from me. Fortunately I ran through a large herd of buffalo, which I think diverted a large portion of the wolves from following me. Still some of them kept after me until I got within five miles of the post, when I had only four rounds of ammunition left, and I felt it was necessary to make the supreme effort to escape from them. My horse was nearly exhausted and bleeding from the wounds of the wolves, but I put spurs to him, urging him to his utmost speed, and reached the bank of the Smoky Hill River, on the side opposite that on which the post was located, completely worn out with fatigue and excitement, and my horse dropped dead before I could remove the saddle. I then waded the river filled with floating ice."

In all that country ranged by the buffalo, were to be found the elk and deer, and a variety of feathered game. The prairie chicken was the most conspicuous. This bird is also found in great numbers east of that belt, in the States of Iowa, Illinois and Minnesota. This region, during the Spring and Autumn, also abounds with water fowl—snipe, curlew, wild ducks and wild geese of every variety.

My personal experience with game and hunting has been somewhat limited. During the years that I was in that wild country of the West, much of my time was devoted to hunting hostile Indians. In Kansas in the early part of 1870, I found some leisure, however, to devote to hunting buffalo with General Custer, who had a cavalry command near mine, and who was well equipped with horses and had a large pack of dogs. I also found much healthful exercise and recreation in hunting wild turkey, prairie chicken and quail, over the rolling prairies of Kansas, where

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

there was plenty of cover in the wild grass, which yet was not so high but that we could see the intelligent and well-trained setters and pointers work to perfection. I preferred the prairie chicken to the quail as being a much better mark as well as a finer bird. The wild duck could be found in considerable numbers at that time in Western Kansas. In the timbered reaches of the "Rockies" the blue grouse were and are quite abundant.

During the construction of the transcontinental railroads, a large amount of game was killed for the use of the men employed in that work. In this way William F. Cody made his reputation as a buffalo hunter. He was at that time a young man in the twenties, tall, stalwart and of magnificent physique—one of the handsomest and most powerful men I have ever known, with auburn locks of a golden hue, large, brilliant, dark eyes, and perfect features. He was a daring rider and a most expert rifleman. He excelled in the rush after game, and could kill more buffalo during a single run than any other man I have ever known. He not only took the risks of a desperate chase, but he and his party had to be constantly on the lookout for Indians. Under his contract, he for quite a long time supplied the railroad contractors and builders with meat in this manner.

Farther north in the Dakotas and Montana, although the country was alive with large game, my command was so incessantly occupied in hunting Indians that it was rarely that any attention could be paid to game, except occasionally buffalo, deer, and mountain sheep. I regard the meat of the mountain sheep or big-horn, as the finest of all large game. The pursuit of this animal requires great skill, hard work, and dangerous climbing. They frequent the little mesas and ledges at the foot of precipitous cliffs. They are very keen-sighted and difficult of approach. When in repose they are usually found on little ledges where they can survey the country below. For this reason the hunter aims to get above them, and is prepared to shoot at first sight. The skin on the knee and brisket of the mountain sheep is nearly an inch thick, made so by kneeling on the sharp rocks. In the broken country of the Rockies the black-tailed deer are nearly as sure-footed as the mountain sheep, and frequently use their trails.

About the most interesting sport I have ever engaged in, was the hunting of large wolves in Indian Territory in 1875, when they were found in great numbers. A party of hunters, very

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

often numbering from ten to twenty, and well mounted, would move out to a divide or high ground of the rolling prairies, each with a greyhound or staghound in leash, while some men would be sent along through the timber and the ravines with deer-hounds and bloodhounds to start the wolves out of the cover on to the high ground. The moment they appeared and undertook to cross the prairie, a signal would be given and the dogs let loose. The result would be a grand rush and chase of from three to five miles, winding up with a fierce fight. The large gray wolves were very powerful; you could hear their jaws snap half a mile away, and frequently they cut the dogs very badly. When any one dog had courage enough to make the attack all the others would rush in; and I have frequently seen the whole pack upon one large wolf.

There is, however, rarer sport than this to me in hunting the bear with a well trained pack of dogs. Mr. Montague S. Stevens, an English gentleman, who has a large cattle ranch in New Mexico, has a fine pack of dogs, composed of bloodhounds, fox terriers, staghounds, boarhounds, Russian wolfhounds, and various others of the canine species—the first used as trailers—and taken altogether they will tree or bring to bay any bear found in the country. In fact they fight the bear so furiously that he pays little attention to the hunters, so that they can approach with comparative safety. It is royal sport, though very difficult and somewhat dangerous. The hunters are usually mounted on strong, hardy, sure-footed horses, as they are obliged to ride rapidly up and down the sides of precipitous mountains.

Bear hunting is the most dangerous of all kinds of sport, and is uninteresting unless one is equipped with a well trained pack of dogs—a pack used for no other purpose. Such dogs are never allowed to hunt any other game.

The game of the West has rapidly disappeared before the huntsman's rifle. It is a fair estimate that four million buffaloes were killed within the five years between 1874 and 1879, from what was known as the Southern herd, which roamed through Northern Texas, the Indian Territory, Kansas, and Nebraska. Between 1878 and 1883 the great Northern herd—quite as numerous—roaming through the Dakotas, Wyoming, and Montana, were destroyed in like manner. The hunters received on an average from $2.50 to $3.50 per hide, to be shipped out of the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

country and sold for leather making, belting, harnesses, and kindred purposes. Many thousands of men were engaged in the enterprise. The most successful hunting parties consisted of a hunter and about six men known as strippers. The time usually selected for taking the buffaloes was just after they had been grazing in the morning, had gone to the water and then returned to the high ground, lying down to rest in bunches of from twenty to a hundred. The hunter, with the longest range rifle of the heaviest calibre he could obtain, would fire from the leeward side, so far away that the crack of the rifle could not be heard by the buffalo, and being behind a bush or bunch of grass, could not be seen. In that way he would kill from a dozen to a hundred a day, without disturbing the herd to any great extent. The buffalo receiving a mortal wound would bleed to death, while the others about him, smelling the blood, would sometimes come near him and paw the ground and so stand until they too would receive their death wounds. The strippers would then come up with ox teams, take off the hides, place them in the wagons, and transport them to the nearest railroad station, whence they were shipped to market. At one station alone on the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé Railroad as many as 750,000 hides were shipped in one year.

After the hides were removed, the carcass would be poisoned in many cases, some yearling buffalo being generally selected, and next morning there might be found forty or fifty dead wolves lying scattered around, victims of strychnine. In this way the large game was rapidly destroyed, together with countless numbers of wolves that had thrived only by preying upon them. This might seem like cruelty and wasteful extravagance, but the buffalo, like the Indian, stood in the way of civilization and the path of progress, and the decree had gone forth that they must give way. It was impossible to herd domestic stock in a country where they were constantly liable to be stampeded by the moving herds of wild animals. The same territory which a quarter of a century ago was supporting those vast herds of wild game is now sustaining millions of domestic animals which afford the food supply to hundreds of millions of people in civilized countries.

NELSON A. MILES.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IS SOCIALISM ADVANCING IN ENGLAND?

BY THE REV. PROF W. G. BLAIKIE, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E.

SOCIALISM may still perhaps be identified in the minds of some with anarchy, atheism, dynamite and assassination; but its reasonable and intelligent friends among us have stripped it of these and other ugly adjuncts. It is not now held to be the product of either dreaming lunatics on the one hand, or reckless desperadoes on the other; it is allowed by friends and foes alike to have a reasonable basis, and to be capable of a friendly alliance with religion, family order and morality. It has ceased to be regarded as the culmination of democratic violence, bent on seizing all existing property, flinging it into a common reservoir, and doling it out to all and sundry in equal dividends; it is no longer the synonym of anarchy or of communism. It is on this account that it is receiving much more attention than in former days and, according to its advocates, constant recruits.

The distinctive term by which it now desires to be known is "collectivism," and the essence, or as Dr. Schäffle puts it, the quintessence of collectivism may be simply stated. Its object is to transfer the whole *means of production*—all that goes to *produce* the commodities needful for human beings, namely, land, machinery, workshops, warehouses, ships, railways, and all capital used in production—from the ownership of individuals to the ownership of the State. Its purpose is illustrated by the transaction which took place a few years ago when the ownership of all our British telegraphs was transferred from railway companies or other owners to the State. The transference, however, of the whole instruments of production would be of no avail unless followed up by a corporate organization of labor and a distribution of the proceeds in proportion to the value of the work done by each laborer. On these three things—nationalization of the instru-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ments of production, unification of labor, and proportionate distribution of the fruits—the fabric of socialism rests, as it is usually presented by its more intelligent advocates in this closing decade of the nineteenth century. Nothing is allowed to be socialism, or at least collectivism, that does not embrace these points.

In this way modern English Socialism severs connection not only with revolution and anarchy, but also with certain elaborate systems, such as Fourier's "Phalansteries," or even Comte's "polity," by means of which society was to be constituted on an entirely new basis. It also differentiates itself from not a few movements to which the general name of Socialism, or social reform, is often given. The "Christian Socialism" of Kingsley, Maurice, and others, some forty years ago, does not come under the true category of Socialism, because it did not recognise these three points. Even the "Christian Social Union" of the present day is not in its constitution socialistic, although some of its members may have embraced the tenets of collectivism. Dr. Westcott, Bishop of Durham, in his "Social Aspects of Christianity,' shows warm sympathy with socialist objects, with the elevation and increased comfort of the working classes, but he does not believe in socialistic weapons. "Lombard Street in Lent," the somewhat enigmatical title of a series of addresses by members of the Christian Social Union, strives to correct many of the blemishes in the present economy of labor, but does not advocate the distinctive principles of collectivism. It may be a question whether the members of this Union are not as well entitled to the name of socialists as the advocates of the three points; and it is only as a matter of convenience that in this paper we restrict its application to those who claim, as a *sine quâ non*, the nationalization of the whole instruments of production.

Unfortunately it is impossible to deny that under the present system many serious social evils are found. Nothing can be more uncomfortable than the disputes between capital and labor; nothing more tragical than the strikes and lock-outs to which they often lead. And as to the condition of the lowest class of our people in London and other large towns, it is simply heart-breaking. It is a disgrace to civilization. All these evils collectivists ascribe, without hesitation, to the system that has hitherto ruled in the world of labor, the system of "individual-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ism," and the ruinous competition which it involves. Their view is, that under the present system, labor is exploited for the sole benefit of the capitalist; it is his aim to produce as cheaply as possible; in order to do this the workman is robbed of his fair share of profit and the capitalist fattens on the spoil. The tendency of the system is to make the poor poorer and the rich richer. Small industries are swallowed up by large; all independent ways of making a livelihood are cut off from the worker; he must depend on the capitalist for the very right to live. It is a system that affords no prospect of improvement; the process of the fat kine swallowing up the lean (for Pharaoh's dream is reversed) must go on as long as there are lean kine to be swallowed, and at the completion of the process, what you will have will be, a few men rich "beyond the dreams of avarice," and the great mass "hewers of wood and drawers of water."

There is some truth, and also some exaggeration here. As a whole, it is not true that the skilled artisan class has become poorer of late years; on the contrary that class is much better off. Any statistical statement of wages and prices makes this plain. And as for the unskilled and unemployed mass, whose conditions of life are so miserable, it should be remembered that it is characteristic of the large towns where they live, that the feeble of the race are not absorbed or borne up by the rest, but sink to the bottom. Moreover, whether it be cause or effect, it is to be noted that much of the helplessness of this class and much of their misery are due to drink. Any explanation of the misery of the east end of London and all our large towns that overlooks the influence of drink, is on the very face of it miserably and palpably defective.

Still, our modern industrial system has much to answer for. The history of our manufactures is not flattering to human nature. In the early part of the century, when the practice began of employing large numbers of men, women and children in single manufactories or other industries, the abuses that arose were frightful. It is shocking to read of children toiling for fourteen or fifteen hours a day, and only kept awake by the lash of the foreman; of women, even in a state of pregnancy, carrying heavy loads in pits, or working deep in water, or of children on all fours with a chain round their waist dragging trucks of coal along dark and dirty passages; of injured spines and twisted

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

limbs, of wounds and bruises, premature old age and early deaths, all caused by the greed of men who did not scruple to wring their wealth out of the life blood of their workers. This was the first result of the system of free competition, of supply and demand, of *laissez-faire*, of buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market. No wonder that even when somewhat reformed, it aroused the indignation of men like Mr. Ruskin, whose denunciations of it have served in no slight degree to bring it to the bar of public opinion, and to swell the chorus of social condemnation. But, thanks to Lord Shaftesbury and other good men, many of these abuses are now swept away and others have been greatly modified. And, in the judgment of many wise and benevolent men, the right course for the English nation is to persevere on these lines of improvement, in the hope that if equal progress be made in years to come as in the past, the condition of the working class will become sufficiently civilized and comfortable.

But in this view socialists will not concur. They maintain that under any system of capitalism in the hands of individuals, the object of the employer will be to give as little as possible of the profits of their labor to his workmen, and keep as much as possible to himself. The value of any product, socialists say, is determined by the amount and quality of the labor bestowed on it. To whom does this value rightfully belong but to the worker? Unless the worker gets the full value of his work, he is robbed. No amendment of the present system will ever give the workman all that he is entitled to. Such a result will never take place till the whole instruments of production are public property, and labor is so organized that, after necessary deductions, each laborer shall receive the share which corresponds to the amount and quality of his labor.

The threshing out of the principle here assumed, that the value of products is measured by the labor bestowed on them, has not proved very favorable to socialism. It is denied that labor is the only element that goes to constitute value. Dr. Flint, in his recent elaborate book on socialism, has shown well that mere labor creates nothing, any more than the moving of our hands and feet in space would create anything. Labor must receive from nature the materials on which it works; it must be aided by the intelligence that plans and directs it, and by the machinery, often complicated and elaborate, that has been designed

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for its purposes; and it must be turned to account by the discovery of customers who desire to purchase its products. It is one thing to maintain that labor is an essential element of value, and also that in the distribution of profits labor has not hitherto received its due share; but it is another thing to represent it as the one element of value, and to make this the standard by which the just demands of the workmen are to be tried. Even Dr. Schäffle, in spite of his strong leaning to socialism, strongly contends that, in addition to the *labor* value of products, we must take into account what he calls their *use* value, the value that arises from the amount of demand there is for them. I may write an elaborate book that costs me a world of labor, but, useful though it may be, the demand for it may be almost *nil*. Under a socialistic scheme of regarding labor, how should the value of my book be determined? If by the amount of my labor, it will stand high; if by the sale of the book, extremely low. What Dr. Schäffle maintains is that socialism has not grappled with this question, which, under any practical scheme, would be an extremely important one. We are not, therefore, entitled to assume, as so many socialists do, especially of the working class, that labor is what constitutes the sole or nearly sole value of products, or to maintain that the workman is robbed aye and until he obtain the full value of the product which his hands have fashioned.

Land holds a foremost place among the means of production that must become public property under a valid socialistic economy. Naturally, the question arises, How is the land to be acquired by the nation? Happily the idea of seizing it without compensation has no advocates among reasonable men. There are those who mutter that as the land was originally the property of the nation, but has unrighteously come to private owners, who enjoy its fruits at the expense of the laborer, who, as producer, ought to have the greater part of them, all landlords should be treated as robbers and compelled to disgorge their unrighteous mammon. But any such proposal would give too great a shock to the conscience of the nation to be seriously entertained. The nation recognizes the right of private property under arrangements that have come down from time immemorial, even supposing that centuries ago the first private proprietors acquired the property unjustly. And some of the most intelligent advocates of socialism hold that a landlord or a capitalist who should

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be converted to socialism would be under no obligation, moral or legal, to throw up his property, so long as the present system prevailed.

Compensation, therefore, in some form, would be due to the landlord if his land were transferred to the state. But any such arrangement would be a poor one for the people, seeing that even under the present system the profits derived from land are so small, and it is more than doubtful whether they would be better under public management. As we say, a money compensation in these circumstances would make the arrangement as broad as it is long—perhaps broader. But, under a thorough system of socialism money would be abolished. There could therefore be no compensation in money. The compensation, according to Dr. Schäffle, both for land, capital and other instruments of production, would be in the form of perishable goods—in what is called labor-money, that is to say, in the form of orders on the department of distribution for such goods as they distributed, consisting of the common necessaries and a few of the luxuries of life. But the compensation would not yield a permanent income, nor would it allow the recipients to carry on any productive work that would make them independent. As Dr. Schäffle remarks, even the fortune of a Rothschild could not long resist the process of dissipation that would soon set in!

Another proposed way of dealing with landed property is to increase taxation on it to such an extent that ultimately its whole value should be absorbed in the taxes, and landlords would no longer care to keep what brought them nothing. This is the course advocated by Mr. Henry George, and by Morris and Bax in their work on *Socialism* (1893), as it is also by the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, editor of the *Church* [of England] *Reformer*. It is indeed strange that so mean a proposal should find respectable advocates. But it is hardly less strange that it should be entertained as a practicable scheme. How should such a taxation obtain the sanction of Parliament? Unless, indeed, we should come to have a Parliament of red-hot socialists, the thing is out of the question; and that is a prospect that does not seem very near! Even the 25 per cent. tax proposed by the Financial Reform Association may be regarded as quite Utopian.

That all property acquired by and for the nation must be reasonably compensated for is, therefore, coming to be admitted

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

generally in England, although voices against compensation may be heard occasionally. Compensation would take the sting out of the older socialism, and place the whole question on a footing on which it might be calmly discussed by honest and reasonable men.

Other important concessions, as we must call them, have also been made. For instance, the introduction of socialism is no longer advocated in the form of a revolutionary mechanical measure, to supersede the present system as suddenly and as completely as the railways superseded the stage coach, or as the electric light takes the place of gas. It is admitted that any change must be a gradual one, and that the new system, instead of a mechanical creation, must be a vital growth. The law of evolution must apply to it. All permanent institutions, it is seen, follow this law, and anything affecting society must obey it. And then the question arises, How long time may the process demand? Various answers have been given, ranging between fifty and five hundred years: for, as evolution generally works slowly, it is seen that this process must be slow. By this concession, another ground of alarm has been removed. People are seldom alarmed at the prospect of a change which is to work slowly and gradually, like the subsidence of a beach losing a foot or two in a hundred years. It was the idea that socialism was to be brought in like the French Revolution that terrified people, the idea of "after me the deluge;" the thought of Europe converted into an innumerable multitude of volcanoes, causing confusion and desolation on every side.

And then, too, we find that the more reasonable socialists are more concerned to sow the seed of their principles and leaven society with their spirit, than to attempt the practical execution of their projects. This is clearly seen in Mr. Sidney Webb's *Socialism in England* (Second Edition, 1893), one of the most reasonable expositions of the system which have lately appeared. In common with most socialists, he sees a great tendency to the adoption of socialist views and operations in the public policy of the nation. That is to say, we are continually increasing the number of institutions managed by the nation for the nation. The army, the navy, are old socialist institutions; but in recent times the carriage of letters, books, and parcels, the telegraph system, public education, life insurance (through the post office),

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

granting annuities, remitting money, etc., etc., are socialist operations. Municipal socialism is even more active than national. All that concerns the heating, lighting, cleansing and repairing of the streets; in many cases gas-works, water-works, tramways, galleries, gardens and baths have become public concerns. And, outside the nation and the municipality, individual ownership is in the course of being exchanged for joint-stock companies, hundreds and thousands of proprietors taking the place of one. The very men that denounce socialism, as Mr. Sidney Webb puts it, are unconsciously practising it. "The individualist town councillor will walk along the municipal pavement, lit by municipal gas, and cleaned by municipal broom with municipal water, and seeing by the municipal clock in the municipal market that he is too early to meet his children coming from the municipal school, hard by the county lunatic asylum and municipal hospital, will use the national telegraph system and tell them not to walk through the municipal park, but to come by the municipal tramway, to meet him in the municipal reading-room, by the municipal art gallery, museum, and library, where he intends to consult some of the national publications in order to prepare his next speech in the municipal town hall, in favor of the nationalization of the canals and the increase of the government control over the railway system." And yet he will denounce socialism as a dream!

Socialists believe that in these and in other ways, the public mind is becoming familiarized with the great idea—collectivism *versus* individualism. As the process goes on, they think that it will become ripe for the last and crowning step—the conversion of the whole instruments of production into the property of the State. By the time that the public mind is thus prepared, another operation, also favorable to socialism, will have been completed—the absorption of all the smaller industries, and the extinction of the class of individuals working at their own hand, for their own benefit. When this comes to pass socialists think we may slide into socialism as easily as the railway train, at the end of its journey, slides into the rail that brings it to the platform.

So long as socialists work mainly on these two lines—exposing the evils of the present system, and indicating the reality and the benefit of socialist principles, so far as they are currently in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

operation among us—it is possible that it will become more popular; it may gather new recruits, and it may avoid the rough handling that the older and bolder socialism encountered. But it seems to us a great mistake to suppose that the forms of national or municipal socialism now in operation will really prepare the way for the final gulp. Before the whole instruments of production are nationalized many important and difficult questions have to be settled. In the first place, how are we to find a substitute for the motives that under the present system impel men to diligence, activity, and inventiveness? In other words, how is a man to be induced to work as hard for the welfare of the community as he does for himself and his family? It is sometimes said in reply to this, that selfishness and other evil propensities will pass away when the present temptations to the exercise of them are removed; men will become generous and amiable when nothing is to be gained by greed and passion. It were amusing, if it were not too serious for amusement, to mark the simplicity of mind with which this transformation of human nature is expected from a change of circumstances! As if in all circumstances and under all systems, monarchy, republicanism, democracy, oligarchy, and amid all conditions of life, riches or poverty, ease or struggle, success or failure, the great features and failings of human nature had not always been, and would not always be, the same! Nothing in all the speculations, whether of the socialists or the philosophers of the present day, is so surprising as the facility with which they think they can generate an "altruism" sufficient for their purposes! In this connection, the contention of Mr. Benjamin Kidd, in his *Social Evolution*, demands our serious consideration. He maintains that all the altruism that has hitherto been at work among men has been generated by religion, and religion alone. We may be excused for refusing to believe in an altruism that comes from a mere belief in the greatest good of the greatest number. The demon of selfishness is not so easy to exorcise. "Leviathan is not so tamed." True, there is no necessary antagonism between socialism and religion. But more is needed than the absence of antagonism. If the true altruistic spirit is necessary for the success of socialism, it must come from the fountain of religion, and socialism must enter into close alliance with religion. "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Another great question needing to be settled is the scale on which labor is to be rewarded. Our present system settles that question by a natural process. But before a vast scheme of unified labor could be worked, definite rules must be agreed to regarding it. What difference is to be made in the same occupation between the work of the active, steady worker, and that of the slow, idle, good-for-nothing one? And how is the value of work in different occupations to be settled? And what about mental work, and other work that is not strictly productive? And what if the work of some particular individual, say an author, is in infinite demand, and that of another hardly in demand at all? Then again, it is a principle of socialism that the State is bound to provide work for all. But what if the State cannot give a man the work he likes? What if that department be already full? He must just take such work as the State, or rather the officials that manage the department, can give him. All will be under State officials. Will this conduce to liberty? If I can only get work that I don't like from an official that does not like me, shall I be much better than now? We know how much men will sacrifice for liberty; and both our working men and our thinking men will pause before committing themselves to a system that may practically land the worker in slavery.

Then the enormous army of State officials that would he called into being is another serious consideration. The national book-keeping which (if money were abolished) would have to embrace a record of every transaction of buying and selling in every man's life, is too gigantic to think of. And how would international commerce be arranged? What kinds of goods, scheduled as productive, would be forbidden, and what, being non-productive, would be allowed? Might one possess a carriage but not a wheel-barrow? an organ, but not a sewing-machine?

Mr. Webb did not meddle with those questions when he was in America, and they are not discussed in his published book. It is wise policy to keep them in the background, and to bring forward the non-contentious points of socialism; but it is a mistake to suppose that because the public readily accept what is non-contentious, we are nearer a final solution of the real question.

We have considered the prospects of socialism in England as the subject is presented to us by the more educated and cultured champions of the cause; it may be well, before concluding,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to say a word on the attitude and expectations of the working classes.

It is quite natural for them to feel keenly on the subject. It is natural to believe that their labor is too hard and their remuneration too small, and to feel that there is something far wrong when so many idle men live in ease and luxury, and so many hard toiling men have hardly the means of bare subsistence. It is natural to chafe at a foreign sovereign drawing £10,000 a year, or an ex-Speaker £4,000 a year from what they consider the profits of their toil. No class can feel the evils of the present system more than they do. And unless they have something of the wisdom that would "rather bear the ills we have than fly to others that we know not of," it is natural for them to have strong leanings to socialism. But when the shrewdest and steadiest of them try to see through the social system, and to consider how society would get along under it, it is no wonder they find themselves in a maze. It is the labor question, as it is called, that more immediately interests the working class, and though that question is very closely related to socialism, yet several of its issues do not depend on it. The length of the labor day, the living wage, the protection of the workman, education, old-age pensions, comfortable houses, allotments, crofts and the like, are all apart from the leading positions of socialism, and it is with these questions mainly that the working class are at present concerned. True, the I. L. P. (Independent Labor Party) has a socialistic basis, believing that socialism would be the complete solution of all that it aims at. But meanwhile its chief energies are directed to what more specifically belongs to the Labor question.

But certainly the recent election to Parliament has done little to comfort either the socialists or the I. L. P. Keir Hardie is out and his protegés are not in. The verdict of the country has been given against too many organic changes, and in favor of working out for the present admitted principles that tend to the general good.

And thus the answer we give to the question, Is socialism advancing in England? is substantially this: Not in its radical principles; not in its demand for organic change; not in its claim to nationalize the whole instruments of production. As a new system, it may be picking up adherents here and there, in-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

telligent and patriotic men of sanguine temperament, like the members of the Fabian Society, who hope that the difficulties in the way of its practical working may one day be overcome, though they may not see how. But as a real force in the country, gathering power as it goes, and only needing time to bear it to victory, we maintain that it is not advancing. In many ways, however, it is doing useful work; it is calling attention to the condition of the worker and the obligation of society to give him a more comfortable life; it is constraining the Christian churches to address themselves more to the improvement of the condition of the people; it is compelling the legislature to give its deserved prominence to this subject; and it is drawing out many men and women to use their influence and their lives for the welfare of those who spend their lives in daily toil. Dr. Flint has pointed out its faults: so far as it allies itself to atheism and materialism; so far as it assumes that man's chief end is a happy life on earth; so far as it attaches more importance to the condition of men than to their character; and so far as it does injustice to the rights of individuals. With these faults amended, so far as they exist, it may do still greater service; and should it find its goal inaccessible, it may turn out that it has done better for humanity than if it had been crowned with victory.

W. Garden Blaikie.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

OUR NEED OF STRINGENT SHIPPING LAWS.

THE advent of a new era in the establishment of fast transatlantic steamship lines under the American flag, carrying thousands of passengers and valuable cargoes, calls for more stringent laws governing the loading, manning, and sailing of our steamships and sailing vessels, as is done in other countries, notably in Great Britain, whose mercantile fleets predominate in every sea. It is the protection she affords to her seamen, and the strict discipline enforced on board of her passenger steamers, that give the rich traveller, as well as the humblest employee on board, that feeling of security and protection under her flag. Her shipping laws are carefully framed to prevent accident from the inefficiency and carelessness on the part of officers, inefficient crews, overloading, improper stowage, defective construction, inadequate equipment, etc. They also have checked the greed of owners, and prevented their sending to sea old and worn-out vessels unfit to carry in safety passengers and cargoes, which used to be done before such laws were enacted and rigidly enforced.

The "Merchant Shipping Act" of Great Britain has been revised and made more effective in recent years by its many amendments framed by the great philanthropist, Mr. Plimsoll, the sailors' friend, and introduced and pushed through Parliament by him against the powerful opposition of the most prominent ship owners. What that act has done to protect the lives of seamen, to promote their comfort and to increase the safeguards of ocean travel, similar laws should do to protect and foster the mercantile marine of this country, if it is to grow and attain prominence among the maritime nations of the world.

The recent achievement in the construction of the palatial ocean steamships, "St. Louis" and "St. Paul," warrants the assumption that this country will in a few years own creditable fleets and control under its flag a fair share of the ocean-carrying trade of this vast Republic.

Apart from the fact that England heretofore has been able to build, equip and navigate her ships more cheaply than this country, one reason why British steamships have in the past carried the greater portion of the passengers and freight across the Atlantic is because greater care has been taken by the British government in the enforcement of her shipping laws to protect the lives of passengers and seamen. That guarantee of security has been further enhanced by the supremacy and guardianship of her navy, which has always been available and ever ready to resent insult to its subjects, and interference with their rights and property, wherever scattered from one

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

end of the globe to the other, no matter whether in one of her distant colonies or in foreign countries.

It is evident, therefore, that if the United States desire to foster their shipping interests, and to attain prominence with their mercantile marine, our government must be prepared to inaugurate more efficient measures in that direction. Our aim and motto must henceforth be, "Protection to our ships and to the seamen who man them." When that is done our young men will be more encouraged and take greater pride in following the sea as a profession, and in time, let us hope, will supersede the foreign element that now is found to a large extent among the crews of our ships.

What our navy did in Chili two years ago to protect our citizens and interests there it must be prepared to do again as often as required, as England has always done—more recently at Corinto, Nicaragua.

Our fast cruisers and modern battleships, which have been so much admired abroad and which are unrivalled in the modern navies of the old world, are competent to protect the safety of our citizens and property at home and abroad, also to guard the dignity and honor of the "Stars and Stripes" wherever it may wave. This must be done, however, without boasting too loudly or making any attempt at "Jingoism" in the "spread eagle style," so as not to detract from the dignity of the Commonwealth, and thus *quietly but firmly* our influence can be made to be felt when the occasion arises.

Recent instances are not wanting to illustrate the necessity that exists for such laws being enacted, or if already enacted, to urge their enforcement. Only a few weeks ago the steamer "Colima," of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, sailed from San Francisco for Panama and way ports in Central America and Mexico, with a large passenger list and a heavy cargo, *including a deck load.* If the reports thus far published of that sad disaster, by which two hundred lives were lost, are true, and nothing has yet been made public to refute them, that shipwreck was beyond doubt caused by the steamer being improperly loaded and carrying a deck load which should not have been permitted. Such a thing could not have happened under the laws of Great Britain, which make it a misdemeanor to carry deck loads, except under certain restrictions, and subject the captain and owners of vessels to heavy fines and imprisonment. Had such regulations been in force under our laws, the "Colima" could not have obtained a clearance at the Custom-House, while carrying such a deck load. Hence the disaster would have been prevented and two hundred valuable lives saved. It has been a dearly bought lesson, by which we should take warning, though it will be but poor comfort to the many bereaved who have lost husbands, wives, sons, and relatives by the catastrophe. Such disasters reflect discredit on the laxity of the shipping laws of this country; and should direct the attention of our public men and legislatures to the urgent need of reforms being speedily *enacted and rigidly enforced.* The question of the liability of owners of vessels sent to sea in an unseaworthy condition, is one which the courts may be called upon to decide. It should not be left, however, to individual sufferers (who may be financially unable) to make a test case under such circumstances. The owners or officers of corporations managing steamship companies should be held accountable and responsible for damages, and punishment by the State, and in all cases the cause of the loss or disaster, properly investigated by government officials and nautical experts, as is the case in Great Britain and her colonies. The

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

loss of the "Colima" is not the only instance of such sad disasters. Two iron steamers, the "Keneewaw" and "Montserrat" left Nanaimo and Comax, Puget Sound, in December last, same day, coal laden, bound for San Francisco; neither has ever been heard from. They encountered heavy gales, and being heavily loaded (no doubt beyond their capacity), it is supposed were unable to withstand the force of the tempest and went down with all on board. There is little doubt but that both these steamers were overloaded, as no restriction was placed upon them, although one sailed from a Canadian port, but being under a foreign flag the authorities had no right to interfere. Some seventy souls were hurried into eternity by those two disasters, which were the evident result of *greed* on the part of their managers or owners, yet not a voice has been heard in condemnation of such flagrant outrages, beyond the stifled moans of wail and despair of the widows and orphans of the *unprotected* seamen. They should appeal to the sympathies of the public and hasten the much needed remedies. No official enquiry investigating the causes of these disasters has been made. Surely it is full time that steps be taken by our government to inaugurate some system of inspection and adopt stringent measures for the better protection of our Mercantile Marine, and the hardy seamen who risk their lives to navigate our ships and develop the commerce of the Republic.

FRANK ROTHERHAM.

THE AMERICAN NOTE.

IN a community where no religious organization can ever take the lead except by the consent of the people, it is important for each one to keep as near to the characteristic note of the nation as it can, while adhering to a course which is already marked out by tradition. When the American colonies became the United States, they had a considerable variety of religious systems, which had already struck their roots into the soil and which have been handed down to our own time. These were mostly the fruits of the Protestant Reformation in Europe, and derived their strength from the fact that they held to freedom of thought as a vital principle. Neither the Episcopal nor the Roman Catholic organizations had any considerable foothold, but there was a very general aversion to both of these systems as opposed to that simplicity of worship and that centering of ecclesiastical power in the hands of the people which had been the main idea of the Protestant bodies. It was affirmed that the people should rule in Church as well as in State, and now, while both of these bodies are immensely better understood than they were a century ago, there still prevails in the nation at large the conviction that the people are the masters of the situation.

Hence the effort in both of these communions, notwithstanding their relation to the past, to take positions which identify them with the dominant American ideas. The one is Latin in its spirit, and is seeking to be so thoroughly American in its attitude toward the nation that its mediæval character shall not be considered. The other is Anglo-Saxon and is identified with the ideas of freedom and fair dealing which belong to the English race. It has its outreach into the past and feels obliged to keep itself historically true to the traditions it has received, but it has always allowed to the people a certain amount of power in things ecclesiastical, and to-day, while it has kept the spiritual prerogative in the hands of the bishops and clergy, it has given to the laity the temporal control of the churches. Both

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

these communions are closely watching their opportunities and throwing overboard many of their mediæval ideas in order to increase their favor with the people, and both are beginning to share in the confidence of Americans that they are not a menace to our institutions, but an essential factor in their maintenance. Each has a work to do, and each is eager to secure a claim to popular favor. The Episcopal Church has greatly modified its ritual in order to meet the people, and the Roman Communion has gone from one step to another in falling in with our national ideas, in taking up popular education, and in showing that it can adapt itself to the situation.

This is a right thing to do if it does not involve the sacrifice of essential principles, and it is here that the Episcopal Church is possibly at a critical point to-day. It is controlled by two schools of religious thought. One prides itself in the name Catholic, and believes that the Church has only to proclaim itself in strong terms in order to go in and possess the land. It is ready to read the future in the light of its hopes and convictions, but it is slow to remember that it has just emerged in the popular estimation to a position where the community at large begins to appreciate it on its merits. Phillips Brooks did a great deal toward this appreciation in New England, and Bishop Potter has accomplished much in making its purpose better understood elsewhere. They have done this not by emphasizing this or that feature of its polity or ritual, but by showing that it is in sympathy with the object that people are living for in the widest sense, and that the issues with which it has been bound up in popular opinion are obsolete. In short, they have struck the American note, and have led the way, perhaps unconsciously, to a truer understanding of what it represents than has been expressed before. If this broader spirit prevails in the coming convention at Minneapolis, the Episcopal Church will place no obstacles in the way of its progress. Whatever important changes may be made, they will do no harm if they are not out of harmony with the dominant note.

Of all the prelates in the Roman Catholic Church there are three men who seem to understand instinctively how to strike this note. They are Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Ireland and Bishop Keane. The Cardinal is strong for an American spirit. Archbishop Ireland has endeared himself to his own people and to all Americans for his stand for education and for his attitude toward intemperance. Bishop Keane has shown as the rector of the Catholic University at Washington that he is as ready as the head of any Protestant university to take the lead in the higher education and to extend it to women as well as to men. With the details of the religious life in either communion the public has no quarrel, but in striking the American note these men have shown a masterly appreciation of their position and have done more to disarm prejudice and secure goodwill than any others of their generation. This is genuine work of a quality that will not be forgotten. It takes a man who can interpret the signs of the times to be a leader in Church or State, and there is much speculation in religious circles as to who will insist that this American note shall be adhered to in the convention at Minneapolis. If three men can induce the whole body of the Roman hierarchy to do the sensible thing in the Roman Catholic Communion, it ought to be within the power of three men of born leadership and insight to hold the Episcopal Church to the position which it has attained and keep its enthusiastic clergy and laity from mistaking their own convictions for the American note.

JULIUS H. WARD.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HARNESSING THE TIDES.

THE work of harnessing Niagara having proved successful, the question of obtaining similar power for generating electricity in cities begins to assume an importance never before appreciated, and it is only a question of time before the problem will be solved to the eminent satisfaction of thousands of town dwellers. The presence in our cities of steam boilers and engines scattered throughout the most crowded and over-heated sections is a constant source of irritation and unhealthfulness, and the substitution of electricity brought from a convenient distance outside of the city limits for the present huge steam plants would prove a boon that even the densest could readily comprehend.

The experiment with Niagara has shown sufficiently that with such power at hand a city like Buffalo (or New York, for that matter, if within a reasonable distance) can be heated, lighted and all necessary machinery run by electricity generated at a cost less than one-half of that produced from coal. This electric current could be conducted across the continent if the necessary installation of the plant was not so costly. Sources of power nearer at home, however, will probably prevent the lighting of New York by electricity brought from Niagara. The question of utilizing the tides of the rivers, bays and inlets along the Atlantic Coast for generating power is not a new one; but recent developments in electrical matters bring up the matter again in a new light. Within the last few years electricity has entered the field as a formidable competitor with steam, and the real status of the question cannot be determined until some of the experiments now in the process of development have been completed.

The tides of the North and East rivers produce power enough to generate all the electricity required to light New York and Brooklyn, to do all the mechanical work in the factories and machine shops, and to run all the railroad lines in the city and suburbs. This power is wasted, as formerly all of the power of Niagara was allowed to expend itself in a profitless way. All that is required is to store this immense power and to turn it into profitable use. The problem presented differs somewhat from that at Niagara. The tides are periodic, and not constant, and the power would have to be collected at the times of its greatest exertion and stored for later use.

The Niagara people have already proposed to run a line to New York to do what the tides of the Hudson and East rivers would accomplish right at home. Either undertaking is a large one, requiring the expenditure of millions of dollars. But the results would more than justify the outlay. An inexhaustible supply of power from outside would prove a blessing that could hardly be appreciated to-day. The present cumbersome delivery of coal to factories and private houses would be abolished, and a clean, neat, pleasant method substituted. The plant could be located at some convenient place in the suburbs, or along the river front, where the city air would not be vitiated and poisoned by coal gases, dust, and smoke.

What applies to New York and Brooklyn would apply to many other cities. The tides of the Delaware and Chesapeake could be converted into inexhaustible power to give the cities along that coast a perfect and cheap electric plant. The great inland rivers are not so constant in the summer season as the tides of the rivers and bays along the Atlantic coast. The rush of the waters through the narrow inlets of our bays and rivers is so tremendous that enormous machinery could be propelled at a cost representing a small percentage on the capital invested in the plant. The present outlook

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is that the Niagara Falls Power Company will in time run an electrical conduit to New York to supply the motive and lighting power of the city and suburbs, unless some enterprising body of capitalists undertakes to utilize the wasted power of the tides nearer at home. A conduit capable of bringing 100,000 to 200,000 horse power from Niagara would cost more than a four-track steam railway. The investment of a similar amount in collecting and storing the power of the tides in the North and East rivers ought to yield better results.

Greater New York represents the largest power market in the country, and through the ever-increasing suburban traffic the demand for this power will increase. The trolley lines are running in all directions from the city, penetrating farther and farther into the suburbs, and with each new line the demand for electric power becomes greater. Electricity is destined to supplant steam in the short hauls, and it is only a question of time before all of the suburban traffic is carried on by this power. Where railroad lines enter the cities through tunnels the electric engines are sure to become more popular than the steam engines. They have already supplanted the steam engines in Baltimore and other large cities, and the freedom from dust, ashes, smoke and gases, is a boon that every citizen appreciates. The most complete electric terminus of a great steam railroad running into a city is that of the Baltimore & Ohio. The Belt Line Tunnel runs under the city of Baltimore for a distance of one and a quarter miles, and then through small tunnels and cuts into the suburbs. The total length of the electric line equipped is about three miles. When the steam engines and train come to the mouth of the tunnel, the electric engines are simply to haul them through the underground passage of the city to the open country beyond. This system has not been adopted for the sake of economy, but for the convenience and comfort of the patrons of the road. The example set may bring other great railroads entering our cities to a proper sense of their duty to the public, if they wish to retain patronage.

The question of lighting and heating the cities and private houses by the electric power brought from a general storage house outside of the city limits, commends itself to every one. Cooking by electricity is the only modern and improved way. It can be done without heating the room, and without the bother of using wood or coal. The electric heating stoves are regulated so easily by a series of handles and knobs that no one could fail to like them. There is no loss of fuel as at present. When the cooking is finished the current is turned off, and no unnecessary waste follows. The heat is ready at hand on a moment's notice. A slight turn of a knob provides heat enough instantly to broil the steak or to cook the potatoes. The power of the heat can be made constant by a small regulator, so that one knows exactly the intensity of the unseen fire.

Our present system of running machinery compels the erection of small steam plants all over the city. Every hotel, office building, large apartment house, and manufacturing loft must have its steam plant to run an elevator and to heat the building. The steam companies attempt to economize for the individual house owner by running their pipes into the buildings and supplying the power from some central point. But even this system imposes great expense. The steam companies must pay good prices for their coal, and the cost of running the pipes through the streets is as great as that of gas or water pipes. An electric plant could supply through its one con-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

duit all the power and light that the gas and steam companies now furnish through their numerous intricate net works of pipes. The cost could be reduced one-half; the service could be made far more satisfactory, and the city redeemed from many of its present foul odors and an unpleasant, superheated atmosphere. The boon would not simply be one of economy and cleanliness, but one of healthfulness as well.

In a few years it is predicted that electricity will have entered into our city life to the full extent described above, and the first in the field to obtain control of the power will reap profits that cannot be estimated. But where this power will ultimately come from is an unsettled question. It would seem, however, that the tides along our coast might furnish the cheapest and most effective power for such an undertaking if they could be controlled and harnessed as effectually as Niagara has been in the last few years.

GEO. E. WALSH.

RURAL FREE MAIL DELIVERY.

A BETTER mail service in the city than in the country is, by reason of the greater density of population in the first named, consistent with "the greatest good to the greatest number," and, therefore, is a part of good government; but the disparity between the mail service in the city and in the country has become greater than is warranted by justice or the public welfare. The estimated receipts of the post-office department for the current fiscal year equal the expenditures of the preceding year; and it is generally conceded that the finances of the department have, notwithstanding the business depression, reached a point that justifies a decided improvement in the mail service. One cent letter postage would aggravate the inequality between the mail service of the city and of the country. That rural free mail delivery is the more equitable is so apparent that its opponents are compelled to limit their arguments to an exaggeration of its cost and the assertion that the people do not want it. But the people do want it. There is not a single agricultural paper that does not heartily advocate it. There is not a national farmers' organization that is not earnestly working for it. During the past year two hundred subordinate farmers' organizations have pronounced in its favor. The leading dailies everywhere advocate it. Just as the people understand the situation are they in favor of it, once more demonstrating that intelligent public sentiment is wise and just.

Mr. Wanamaker's experiments, set forth in his able reply to Senate resolution of January 13, 1892, demonstrated that free delivery in towns and villages would not add to the net expense of the department. With free delivery on farms would grow up an express and telegraph messenger service that, while being of great benefit to farmers, would yield such profit to the carrier that the bids for free delivery would soon be greatly reduced. Mail could be delivered by those not capable of earning high wages, and the number of offices could be lessened. In an agricultural township now having five or six offices, all but one could be abolished, and two boys on ponies could deliver the mail daily. This would effect an actual saving. In the more sparsely settled regions, boxes along the star routes would suffice for some years. All that is asked for has been well expressed by the Farmers' National Congress: "That free mail delivery be extended into towns and villages and to farms as rapidly as possible without making an onerous increase in the net expense of the post-office depart-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment." This is not unreasonable when city mail service is being constantly improved. For example, during 1894 the area of free delivery in Chicago was increased from 75 to 125 square miles, and the number of deliveries and collections was increased 25 to 40 per cent. At the beginning of the year there were 12 carrier stations, 24 sub-stations, and 70 stamp agencies; at its close there were 23 carrier stations, 15 branch post-offices, 54 sub-stations, and 190 stamp agencies.

If the publications wrongfully enjoying the second-class privilege paid a proper rate of postage, the net cost of rural free mail delivery would probably be met. Nor would the official publication of the L. A. W., which is friendly to our cause, be denied the "pound rate." A further saving could be made of the appropriation for "special mail facilities on trunk lines," which has not accelerated the mails, which has never been recommended by any postmaster-general, and which Dickinson, Wanamaker and Bissell have condemned; or by getting back to a reasonable figure the appropriation for "mail depredators and post-office inspectors"—known in the post-office department as slush money. It is certain that whatever free mail delivery may cost will be saved many times on the one ground alone that it is much more economical that one person should bring their mail to fifty people than that the fifty people should go for it. But why should the post-office department more than the war or navy department be required to be self-sustaining.

So closely interrelated are the interests of city, town and farm that anything to the benefit of the one must be to the benefit of the other. The farmer would be benefited by the prompt receipt of the merchant's letter; the merchant, also, would be benefited. The publisher as well as the farmer would be benefited by the daily delivery of the newspaper at the farmer's door.

The isolation of the farmer, driving his sons and daughters to the overcrowded cities, and his growing discontent from an increasing realization that he is not in touch with the busy centres of humanity, proclaim the need of rural free mail delivery in ways that the nation cannot afford to ignore. This need is revealed by a comparison of our mail service with that of other nations. Japan has rural free mail delivery, and in all the vast Indian Empire there is not a person, no matter in what jungle he may live, to whom his mail is not delivered. China, which alone keeps us company among the nations of the earth in the private ownership of telegraph lines, and which has highways about as bad as ours, refuses further to disgrace herself by being as niggardly and antiquated as we are in rural mail facilities; and the American farmer has a mail service much inferior to that enjoyed by the agricultural portion of the nation we have most despised.

JOHN M. STAHL.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED